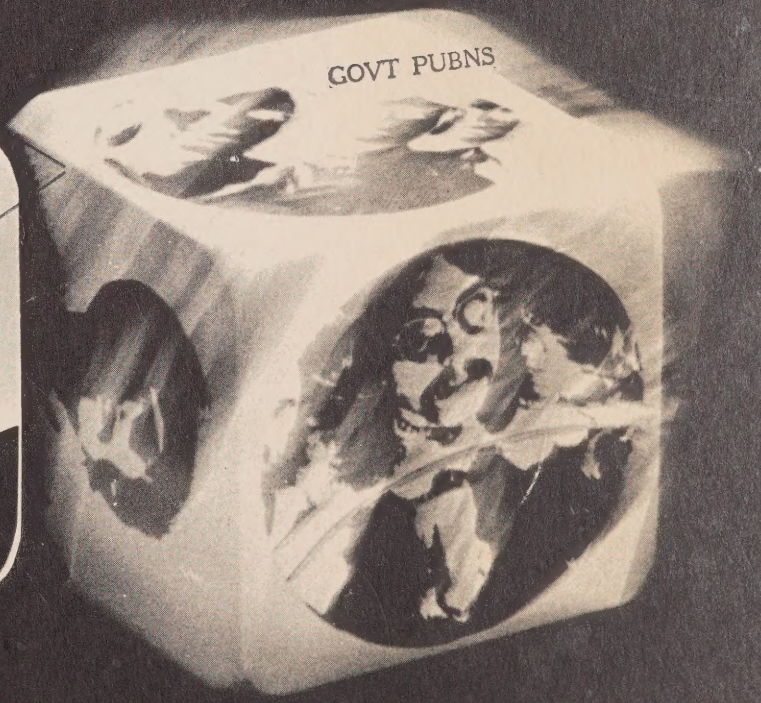
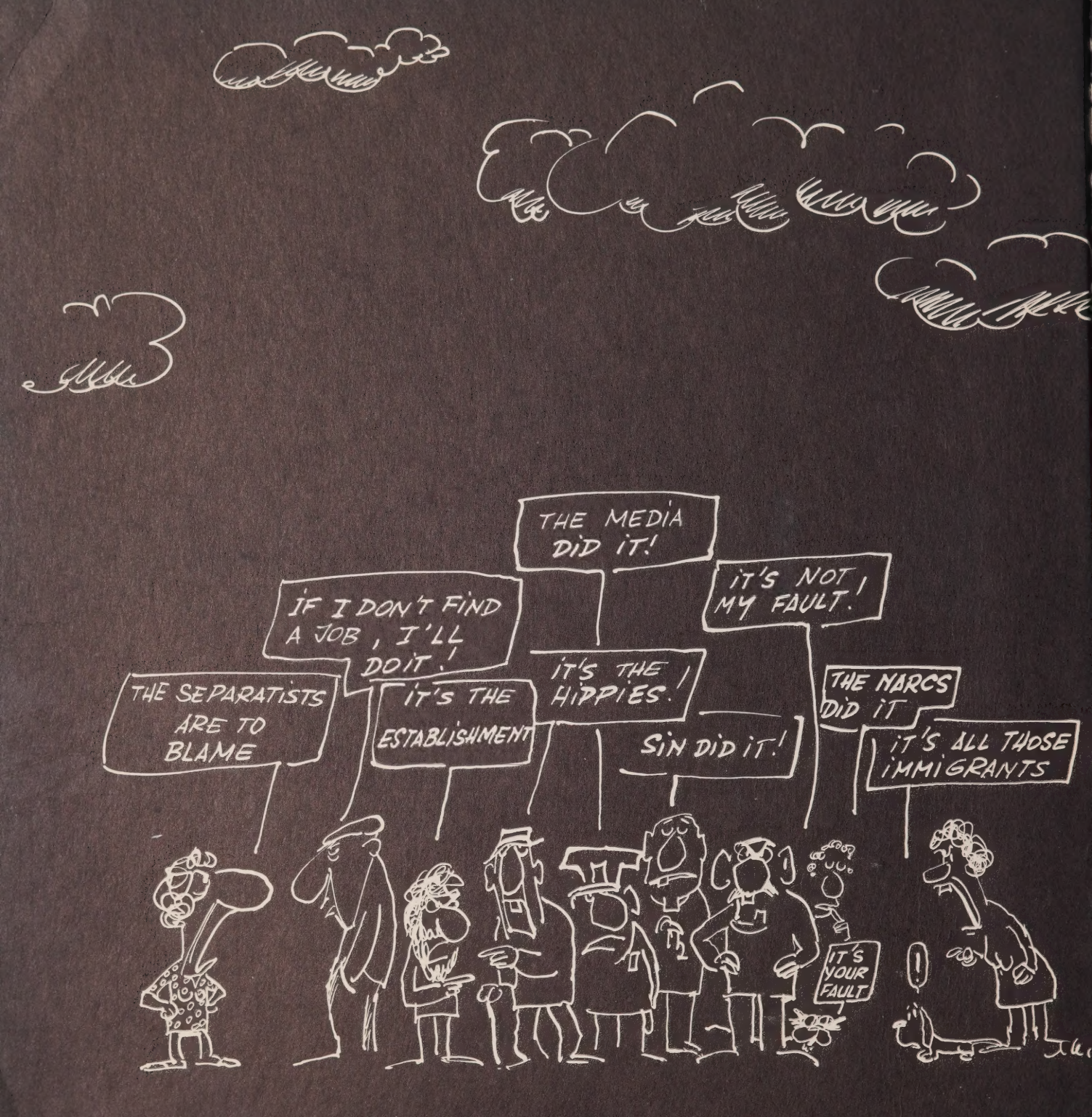
It's Your Turn...

A Report
to the Secretary of State
by the Committee on Youth

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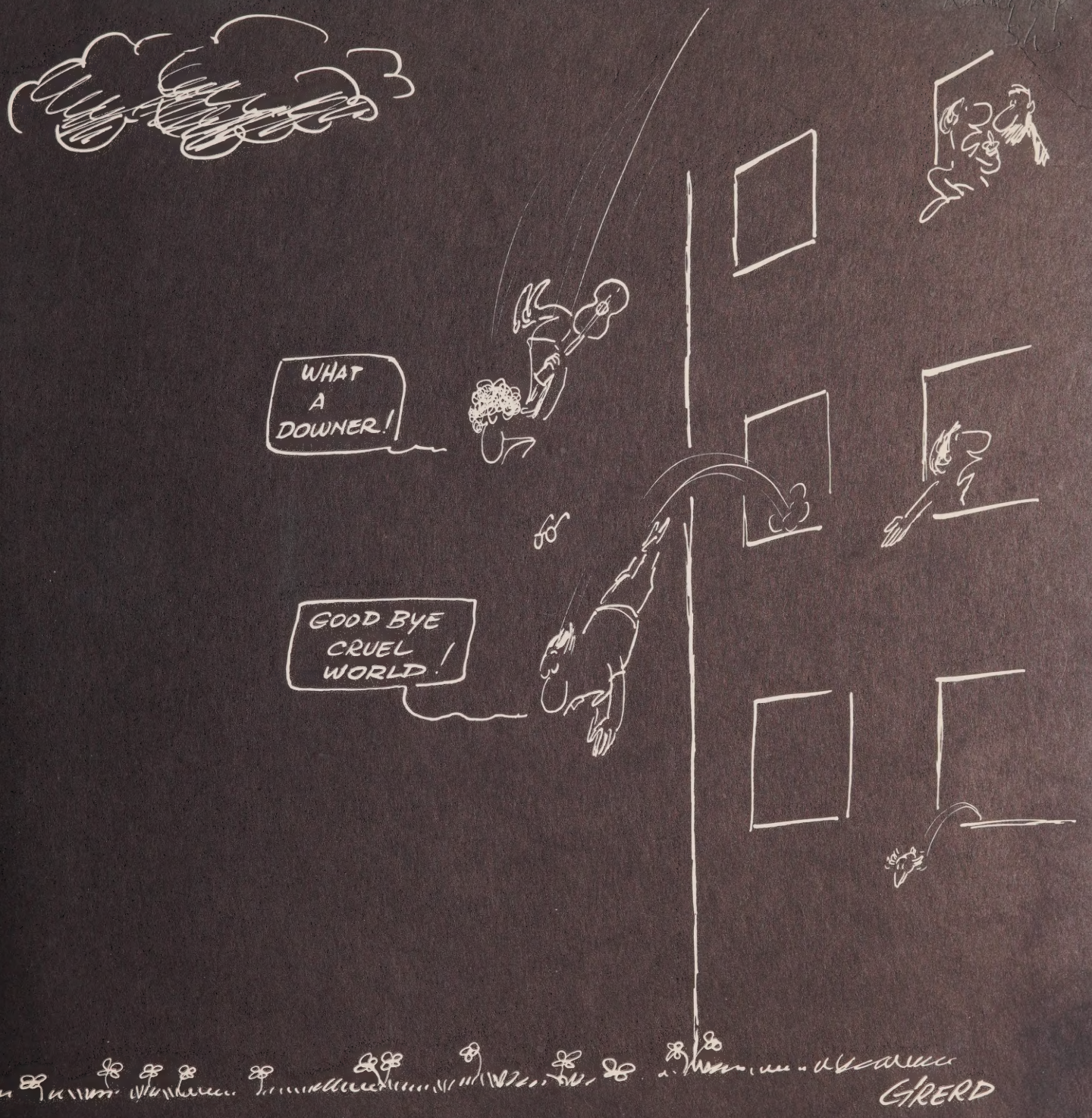
IF I DON'T FIND A JOB, I'LL DO IT!
IT'S NOT MY FAULT!
THE SEPARATISTS ARE TO BLAME
IT'S THE ESTABLISHMENT
IT'S THE HIPPIES!
THE NARCS DID IT
SIN DID IT!
IT'S ALL THOSE IMMIGRANTS
IT'S YOUR FAULT


WHAT A DOWNER!
GOOD BYE CRUEL WORLD!
GRERD

It's Your Turn...

A Report
to the Secretary of State
by the Committee on Youth

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Committee on Youth
Ottawa

Committee on Youth

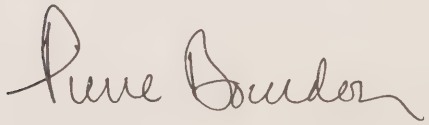
The Honourable Gérard Pelletier,
Secretary of State,
Ottawa, Ontario

Dear Sir:

According to the mandate received in August 1969, the members of the Committee on Youth have the privilege of presenting to you their Report, *It's Your Turn*....

Respectfully yours,

David Hunter
Chairman



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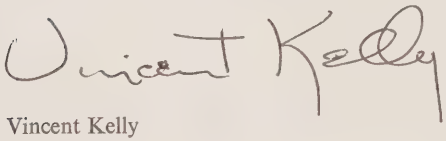

Vincent Kelly
Member

July 26, 1971

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The Committee on Youth was established to undertake a study of

a **"the aspirations, attitudes and needs of youth,"**

and

b **"the government's present role in this area".**

Traditionally, the involvement of Canadian governments in the field of youth has revolved primarily around the question of education. Over the past 50 years, more and more aspects of a young person's life have become an institutional responsibility shared by federal, provincial and municipal governments, and private organizations.

The Committee's arguments for changes in government programmes in this field do not stem from the point of view that the government is the right and proper agent to assume responsibility for youth. Yet, at this point in time, the federal government is increasingly becoming the main agent in dealing with the phenomenon of a profound social change. In concerning itself with youth problems, it would not be correct that the federal government assume new functions and responsibilities with respect to individuals and organizations without first understanding the context of the vast and burgeoning change that is altering the fabric of Canadian society.

Moreover, all those organizations to which the federal government must relate - provincial and municipal governments and private institutions - are themselves experiencing or are the product of tremendous changes.

At the provincial level, the past 10 years have seen the development of government youth agencies, youth divisions, and, in some provinces, youth departments. These agencies are currently developing a series of different relationships with provincial education systems and with traditional voluntary organizations.

For many years, voluntary youth organizations assumed responsibility for the out-of-school recreational and social needs of young people. These agencies were governed primarily by paternalistic assumptions about the "idealism" of youth - youth being viewed as a pliable resource which social organizations must attempt to channel. This thinking has determined the nature of most youth programmes in Canada. As this operational premise loses its legitimacy in the eyes of youth, and as many of their functions are assumed by educational institutions and government departments, the voluntary organizations are reassessing their role.

The attempt to "define" youth is in many ways a pointless exercise, since this age group exhibits all the heterogeneity of any other age group within this country. Young people perceive themselves as a distinct group, not on the basis of age but rather on the basis of the commonalty of their situation and attitudes; they are facing for the first time a morass of institutions (educational, occupational, recreational, governmental) which they find unsatisfactory and unresponsive. We found that they are seriously challenging the conventional wisdom and premises inherent in these institutions. Although students and young workers express their discontent in differing terms, the essence of their statements is sufficiently similar across the country to permit one to speak in a generalized way of "Canadian youth".

When society feels the impact of this "problem" it often attempts to "treat" it by establishing a succession of youth programmes. Such programmes are usually shaped by adults and rarely meet the needs of youth. Moreover, youth programmes treat youth as a class, which it is not, and thus contribute to widening the very gap they were designed to narrow. The examples of the consequences of this approach are manifold. Many Canadian provinces, and in fact most countries in the Western world, have responded to the claims of youth by creating departments of youth which, if the "disruptive" political and cultural activities of young people are any indication, have done little or nothing to solve "the problem".

This Report attempts to demonstrate that youth dissatisfactions and attitudes are not a function of age but are a forecast by the young of larger societal changes. The major objective must be to deal with their criticism in terms of the whole society. To treat their convictions as a "youth problem" and respond only by the formulation of a "youth policy" or a "youth department" would be to further isolate and frustrate youth by precluding their efforts to affect and alter the whole of our rapidly changing society.

Youth perceive social institutions differently from adults; this difference in perception is one of kind rather than degree. For example, youth question traditional family patterns while experimenting with other communal relationships such as co-operatives and communes. Youth would like to find, somewhere in society, institutions capable of supporting these and other roles as defined by them. They are not necessarily rejecting society, but they are challenging the way society defines and treats them.

An open breach of confidence exists between adults and youth. How can their conflicting views be ameliorated? How can the gap be lessened? The adult view had been to wait patiently for youth to conform to their model. Ten years ago this was a generally accepted practice; today youth are not willing to accept the

traditional mode of acquiesence to a life style they cannot regard as valid. Their outright rejection of adult standards has created a withdrawal of youth and a turning towards peer groups for direction in an increasingly complex world. Frustrated by the society in which they find themselves, youth seek psychic experimentation where, even temporarily, they can attain the freedom, flexibility and novel perception denied by society. Without substantial change, the trend towards separation will increase with force and rapidity; the credibility gap will become wider and wider.

Young people in Canada show every indication of joining the great refusal taking place throughout the world. Their confidence in the existing order is being undermined on two fronts; not only are they forced intellectually to challenge many of the values inherent in our society, but also the traditional motives or incentives for participation in the "system" are increasingly unavailable. This refusal which ranges all the way from disenchantment to rejection is manifest in many ways - the growing absenteeism in high-schools, the decline in university enrolment (relative to predictions), the demand for storefront or street services and, especially, the marked increase in drug use among all classes of young people.

The separation of youth from society is not an imperative imposed by youth. This growing refusal by youth to participate in society on the predefined terms of that society is accompanied by the search for new styles of living and new working relationships with the rest of society or, in other words, a corresponding great proposal. There is a demand by young people for more integrated relationships between themselves, their immediate environment

and the collective political and social goals and activities of Canadian society. For this closer relationship to be established, society must demonstrate a willingness and a capacity to change. Youth also demands a certain rationality in the way society relates to them, as a preliminary proof of willingness to change.

There were variations across the country in the ideas expressed by youth. But more significant than the differences, which varied according to such factors as economic and social environments, were the similarities of the youth perspective.

The structure of this Report corresponds to the Committee's approach to this investigation: first, a description of the situation, attitudes and aspirations of Canadian youth today; secondly, a review and analysis of the responses to youth by various institutions and governments; and thirdly, recommendations for new responses which more accurately reflect the current needs of both youth and the country as a whole.

In the first section, Chapter I presents a statistical description of youth in terms of demographic and employment patterns. Chapter II recounts young people's attitudes and opinions in each province as they were conveyed to the Committee. The major themes which emerge through these discussions and interviews, together with the findings of commissioned research, constitute the base for Chapter III which attempts to elaborate the over-all trends and directions.

The second section begins with a description of the activities of the voluntary youth organizations (Chapter IV). The following chapter reviews the types of approaches being made by provincial governments to youth programming by briefly examining the activities of five provincial governments. Chapter VI presents an analysis of the federal government's first major youth programme - the Company of Young Canadians. The federal government's over-all response to youth is considered at length in Chapter VII through an analysis of 20 major programmes which affect young people most directly with recommendations resulting from the analysis of those programmes.

Finally, Chapter VIII sets out recommendations in the areas of employment, education, law and justice, and social development.

The Committee recognizes that new developments have occurred since the gathering of information on which this Report is based was completed in December 1970. In terms of young people themselves, their opinions on a wide range of topics have altered. In terms of the federal government, new programmes have been introduced, such as the National Health and Welfare's assistance to family planning and drug education, and the 1971 Student Summer Programme, particularly the Secretary of State's programme, called Opportunities for Youth. Similarly, some major changes have occurred at the provincial level - for example, the basic restructuring of the *Haut Commissarait à la Jeunesse, aux Loisirs et aux Sports* in Quebec.

In the opinion of the Committee, however, none of these changes affect the central issues raised in this Report, nor alter the principles which emerge from the analysis and provide the basis for the recommendations.

Committee on Youth

Commissioned Research	Government Team (45 Programmes)	Briefs Team (144 Organizations)	Provincial Co-ordinators
British Youth Service	Education	Statistics	Newfoundland
Youth and Work	Employment	Viewpoints	Nova Scotia
Drugs	Travel and Exchange	Activities	New Brunswick
Hip-Nonhip	Community and Social Development	Policies	Prince Edward Island
Youth in Contemporary Society	Recreation		Quebec
Underground Press	Arts		Ontario
Student Movements			Manitoba
French Canadians Outside Quebec			Saskatchewan
Company of Young Canadians			Alberta
Youth Media and Arts			British Columbia
Physical Recreation			
Pop Festivals			
Western European Youth			
Youth Unemployment			

In planning a programme of inquiry into government activity in youth affairs and into youth's aspirations, attitudes and needs, we recognized that a variety of intensive and extensive means should be employed to explore the problem as fully as possible.

To gain a firm grasp of the position of youth in Canada the Committee established a programme of contact with young Canadians that would permit in-depth discussions with young people about the problems of young people. A greater emphasis was placed on this method of sitting down and talking - and listening - to youth and those involved with their problems as a pragmatic approach to understanding the social problems being faced by young Canadians. The resulting participation of more than 10,000 people, whose ideas and interests were assessed, helped shape this Report.

At the outset it was decided that something much more intensive than a survey questionnaire or a limited interview programme was needed because the areas of investigation were too complex, too varied and as yet too much unexplored for reliance to be placed on standard methods of inquiry. Use of a survey approach would also have been premature since the nature of the "problem" and the area to be investigated were far from being sufficiently defined to support such a method. The decision was made that simple quantitative measurements would not provide a comprehensive analysis. This method appeared increasingly justified as the various sources of information garnered by the Committee corresponded and reinforced one another.

In addition, the Committee undertook standard sociological and psychological research. Specific topics were established and investigations commissioned to cover these areas of interest. Such work fulfils the requirements of a sound sociological and psychological analysis, both theoretically and statistically.

A further reason for using this traditional research as a supplement to the direct inquiry was that the continuing information growing out of the 10,000 informal but extensive interviews provided the basic data necessary to the intelligent selection of specific research topics. Statistical and specific research was therefore used to validate, temper and check the results of the less traditional technique of research.

Our second term of reference, to study the present involvement of the federal government in areas affecting youth, established the basic directions and requirements for the remainder of our inquiry. Reliable treatment of this topic made necessary intensive contact and discussions with representatives of all departments and agencies involved. Federal support of provincial and voluntary youth programmes, as well as the effect of these programmes on Canadian youth, dictated the inclusion of these agencies in our study.

Range of Methodology

Keeping in mind that the work was to be carried out with a minimum of fanfare, we decided upon four basic approaches to our investigation:
— in each province provincial co-ordinators were charged with developing intensive contacts with agency personnel, provincial authorities, and young people both inside and outside formal organizations;
— investigators distributed questionnaires and solicited briefs from voluntary organizations working with young persons;
— another team studied the involvement of the federal government in programmes and activities affecting young persons;
— 14 special research studies were commissioned; some additional research tasks were also assigned to full-time staff members.

Committee members and staff attended conferences and seminars and arranged a series of meetings with persons involved in youth activities. Hearings were conducted in all provinces in April and May 1970.

The chart on the opposite page illustrates the scope and style of our operations.

Constituency of Interest

The Committee defined "youth" as those aged 14 to 25. Our decision was based on the fact that this is now a widely accepted statistical definition of youth which has evolved over the past 10 to 15 years in sociological and psychological studies in Canada, the United States and Western Europe. Since the definition of youth by occupation or socio-economic class would necessarily have led to the discriminatory exclusion of some, it was rejected by the Committee.

Description of Operations

Provincial Co-ordinators

The aim of this approach was to establish contact with young persons, and those working with young persons, in each of the provinces. After discussing the project with several persons in each province, we commissioned personnel with a commitment to their communities to carry out the work on behalf of the Committee.

The task of each provincial co-ordinator was to identify youth and youth groups within the province, to promote meetings among such groups, to discuss with them our task and their interests and concerns, and to encourage them to make submissions to the Committee. The co-ordinators were requested to include in their reports material outlining the reaction of youth to 13 topics which we felt were of particular interest to Canadian youth. These topical guidelines included: religion; family; education; information and the media; employment; recreation; the arts; travel; health; drugs; law and justice; political life; and community and social development.

Many co-ordinators conducted informal but extensive interviews with government agencies; all met with representatives of social agencies, and representatives and members of youth organizations. The co-ordinators, wherever possible, met youth in informal situations. In some provinces advisory groups of young persons were created. All co-ordinators provided us with a rudimentary analysis of the provincial political, economic and social climate to establish a perspective framework for the concerns of youth. Information was collated and presented in written and oral form by the provincial co-ordinators. Lists of contacts appear in the Appendix.

Voluntary Organizations

The initial phase, carried out by four in-house researchers, was the compiling of a list of non-governmental youth organizations and agencies. No up-to-date comprehensive list of Canadian youth organizations existed. Sources of information came from The Canadian Directory of Youth Organizations published by the Secretary of State in 1968, mailing lists of youth organizations, telephone directories and interviews. This list is representative of organized, established youth groups, but cannot be considered comprehensive since information was unavailable on less well-established organizations.

From this list a sample was drawn. Following meetings with several major national youth organizations, local autonomous associations of national organizations were selected to receive a questionnaire according to three criteria: location (urban or rural), present state (static or in transition), and the proportion of regional distribution of the national organization. In the case of provincial affiliates of national organizations, each provincial body was requested to participate in the study. In addition, all national organizations and a large number of local organizations with no affiliations were approached.

It was decided that the most efficient method of obtaining the extensive information desired in this area was through a questionnaire. Designed to allow as much freedom as possible for the organizations to discuss their ideas and opinions, the questionnaire took the form of a request for a brief, and set out guidelines and suggestions for discussion.

A total of 416 questionnaires were sent out and 149 were returned with sufficient information to allow for proper coding. This is a satisfying response of 35.8%. There are regional differences, however. Four of the five regions had a response of between 42% and 50%. The fifth region - Quebec - differed substantially, with a response of only 18%.

The reasons for the low response from Quebec organizations can be attributed to several causes: our survey was conducted at a time when the Quebec government was re-assessing its youth policy and some organizations may have feared that their ability to obtain provincial funds might be impaired if they got involved with a federal survey; the survey was conducted during a provincial election campaign in which Quebec independence was a major issue; the prolonged mail strike, which affected Montreal more than any other Canadian centre, seriously hampered both the delivery and retrieval of questionnaires. A list of those organizations across Canada which replied appears in the List of Contacts.

The Federal Government

Four in-house researchers examined relevant legislative acts in order to identify the mandates of federal departments and agencies; other documentation from each department and agency was studied to assess programmes and projects affecting young persons in Canada.

In all, 84 programmes in 23 departments were identified, of which 20 programmes were studied in detail. Supplementary information came from 110 interviews conducted with senior administrative officers and programme directors.

The researchers were asked to investigate programmes, their purposes and philosophy, the opinions and concerns of their directors, their structure and function within the context of government and Canadian society, and the future role of these programmes within the departments or agencies. They also were to consider how particular programmes fitted into an over-all picture of government's relationship with the youth of Canada.

They examined briefs, brochures, annual reports, estimates and public accounts, and other reports submitted to various departments concerning youth. Documents studied are incorporated in the Bibliography at the conclusion of this Report.

Federal activities were related to similar activities in the provincial fields. Using information acquired from the Committee tours, from the provincial co-ordinators as well as from programme directors of the federal departments, members of this team of researchers interviewed directors of provincial programmes and departments at the senior level. The purpose here was to examine in isolation provincial government youth organizations, departments or agencies, and to identify the relationships which each province had with federal programmes already studied by the team in Ottawa.

Commissioned Studies

— The Hip Adolescent, his Family and the Generation Gap, an empirical psychological study
— The Relationship of Youth to a Changing Society, a socio-historical analysis
— Youth, Media and the Arts, a socio-extrapolative analysis
— Drugs and the Drug Culture, a participant-observer study
— The Underground Press in Canada, interviews of key personnel
— Student Movements in Canada, an historical review and analysis
— The Attitudes and Concerns of Young French-Speaking Canadians Outside Quebec, statistical and sociological analysis
— Youth and Work: Temporary Employment of Post-Secondary School Students, a statistical sociological analysis
— Physical Recreation in Canada, selected interviews and expert analysis
— British Government Activities in the Field of Youth, historical and administrative analysis
— The Company of Young Canadians, a critical sociological analysis
— Youth, Police and Pop Festivals, data collection and selected interviews
— Youth Policies, Structures and Aid to Youth Organizations in six West European Countries, a data collection
— The Socio-Economic Aspects of Canadian Youth Unemployment, a statistical analysis.

Limitations

Native Youth

Omitted from this Report is any extensive comment concerning the attitudes and quality of life of native youth in Canadian society. Although extensive discussions were held with several native groups in Canada, it was evident that the degree of knowledge and experience required to properly convey the needs, hopes and aspirations of native youth could not be encompassed within this study. In the native communities which we contacted, youth stated that they preferred to conduct and initiate studies on their own and for their own purposes. Most native groups stated bluntly that extensive research and inquiry had been made into the lives of all native peoples, both young and old, and that in the absence of any significant action on those reports, participation in a further federal government inquiry was not warranted.

Territorial Youth

Lack of financial resources and time prevented us from investigating the conditions of youth in the Northwest Territories and the Yukon.

In the opinion of the Committee, the acceptance and development by the Canadian government of our recommendations would necessitate specific approaches in regard to native youth, and youth of the Northwest Territories.

Government Inquiries

The existence of other Task Forces and Royal Commissions limited our concern in certain areas. Little attention was paid to young people in penitentiaries because of the extensive review in the Ouimet Report. In view of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women, we studied male and female youth according to the same criteria and only occasionally studied specific areas of inequality.

Similarly we made no attempt to investigate the technical or legal aspects of drug use, because of the work of the Commission of Inquiry into the Non-medical Use of Drugs. We focused instead on the characteristics of the way of life within the drug communities, and the attitudes of the youth population as a whole toward this phenomenon.

Demographic Profile

Introduction

Too often it is assumed that the society that young persons enter today is the same as that of their parents when they were young. This is not the case. This chapter sets out to examine basic population developments with specific reference to employment patterns.[1]

The situation has changed rapidly in the last few years. As a group, young people appear to be more conscious of their own identity, are more vocal, and much more in evidence in public life. Their increased numbers, more advanced schooling, and specific claim for goods and services, are indications of the irreversible emergence of life-styles peculiar to those between 15 to 24 years of age.

Among the many problems created by this trend are those of the purposes and availability of education, housing and work. Today they are reaching major proportions as a result of the enormous growth in the absolute and relative numbers of young people who have reached the ages of 15 to 24 over the past few years. A summary of the demographic picture of youth in the postwar period and a prediction of developments in future years follow.

Growth in the Number of Young People

In relation to the 1936-1940 period, the birth rate showed an initial increase during the war, then another between the years 1946 and 1960. Since then it experienced a steady decline to 1970. (See Table 1 below giving the five-year unweighted averages for the gross birth rate and the total fertility rate.[2])

The phenomenon in question is commonly referred to as the baby boom of the years 1946 to 1960 - persons who were, in 1970, between 10 and 24 years of age. Between 1946 and 1955, approximately 3.9 million persons were born, as opposed to only 2.6 million for the years 1936-1945, an increase of 50%.

As a result, the growth rates of the labour force vary sharply according to age groups between 1951 and 1966, and especially between 1951 and 1971.

The baby boom has had tremendous repercussions on the two groups of young people 15 to 19 and 20 to 24 years of age. The first group practically doubled between 1951 and 1971. In contrast, the spectacular drop in the birth rate since 1960 brought the number of births in 1969 below the 1948 level, while during the same period the population increased by 64%. This explains why the growth in the 0 to 4 age group, which continued to be large from 1951 until 1966 (+27.6%), dropped to a mere +7.7% for the 1951-1971 period.

The temptation is great to think that the flood of young people is temporary and that their rapid absorption will almost automatically resolve the problems of these young people, particularly unemployment.

Projections to 1984

To appreciate this forecast and to estimate the extent to which demographic changes affect the problems youth and society will have to face in the next few years, the population projections are used for the 1969 to 1984 period. DBS has prepared several models based on various hypotheses as to birth rate, death rate and migration. We have chosen the model based on a slowly declining death rate, a fertility rate corresponding to the behaviour of couples in 1968 with a total fertility rate of about 2.4 children per woman, and on a constant net immigration of 60,000 persons per year.[3]

This model appears to us to be the most applicable. If fertility has dropped since 1968, this is the temporary effect of a pendular movement. Assuming a low fertility rate with an average of 2.25 children per woman would imply that each generation is only ensuring its replacement; a highly improbable situation. Forecasts of migration figures are more complicated.

Here, in absolute numbers and as percentages of the total population, is an indication of how the population of age groups is changing (see Table 2).

To give an example, in 1961 Canada had 1,433,000 young people 15 to 19 years old who made up 7.9% of the total population of the country. It is seen that the number of young people from 15 to 24 will in-

1. See Michael, Donald E. *The Next Generation.* New York: Randon House, 1963.

2. Gross birth rate: number of live births per thousand population per year. Total fertility rate: number of live births per thousand women during their lifetime; this number is adjusted to a calendar year by adding the annual fertility rates according to age.

3. Dominion Bureau of Statistics. *Analytical and Technical Memorandum No. 4, The Population Projections for Canada 1969-84.* Ottawa, 1970, Table A.4. Note that an annual net immigration of 60,000 is noticeably below the postwar figures. However, the choice of an average net immigration of 100,000 persons is absolutely unjustified because of the rather limited prospects for economic growth and because this average of 100,000 would exceed that of the last 25 years. The assumption of an average net immigration reduced to 20,000 would imply a prolonged period of economic stagnation such as Canada has not seen since the Depression of the thirties.

Table 1

Gross Birth Rates and
Total Fertility Rates, Canada 1936–1970

	1936-40	1941-45	1946-50	1951-55	1956-60	1961-65	1966-70
Birth rates (‰)	20.7	23.7	27.6	27.9	27.5	24.2	±17.8
Total fertility rate per 1,000 women	2,693	2,973	3,436	3,704	3,899	3,582	±2,500

Source: DBS. *Vital Statistics*, 1968, pp. 71 and 75.

Table 2

Growth of the Canadian Population by Age Group
in 1966 and 1971 as a Percentage of the 1951 Figures

	All Ages	0 to 4	15 to 19	20 to 24	25 to 34
1966/1951	+42.9%	+27.6%	+73.7%	+34.2%	+13.4%
1971/1951	+54.4	+7.7	+99.8	+75.1	+33.0

Source: Calculated on the basis of the DBS *Vital Statistics* 1968 and the population projections 1969-84. The 1971 data represent a projection based on the estimate of the 1969 population, taken from the model used in the next subsection.

Table 3

Population of Selected Age Groups:
Changes (in thousands) in their Absolute
and Relative Numbers between 1961 and 1984

	1961	1966	1971	1976	1981	1984
15-19	1,433	1,838	2,114	2,338	2,255	1,975
	7.9	9.2	9.8	10.1	9.0	7.5
20-24	1,184	1,461	1,907	2,169	2,387	2,397
	6.5	7.3	8.8	9.3	9.5	9.1
25-29	1,209	1,242	1,576	1,970	2,225	2,378
	6.6	6.2	7.3	8.5	8.9	9.1
30-34	1,272	1,242	1,316	1,610	2,002	2,159
	7.0	6.2	6.1	6.9	8.4	8.2

Source: DBS. *Vital Statistics*, 1968, p. 44 and the document mentioned in the preceding footnote.

crease until 1981: 4,021,000 in 1971, 4,502,000 in 1976 and 4,641,000 in 1981, and will then decrease to 4,372,000 in 1984. Between 1971 and 1981 this group will only increase by 12.9%, whereas the number of adults aged 25 to 34 will increase by 46.9%.

Demographic Interpretation

The baby boom of the 1946 to 1962 period must be placed in its context. Since the beginning of the century, the proportion of older people in the population has increased as the result of a decrease in fertility. For that reason the proportion of young people from 15 to 24 progressively decreased from 20% in 1901 to 18.8% in 1931 and 1941 and to 14.3% in 1961. The basic downward trend was reinforced by a temporary decrease, brought on by the great crisis of the thirties. During that decade the proportion of young people from 15 to 24 apparently became stabilized at around 17% of the total population. The spectacular climb in the fertility rate beginning in 1940 and especially in 1946 (See Table 1) partly made up for the low birth rate during the Depression and the War and to that extent can only be temporary. It is true that the baby boom went far beyond what was needed to catch up. Nonetheless, the fact that young people increased from 14.3% of the total population in 1961 to 16.5% in 1966 is precisely a return to normal proportions. Moreover, the projection that we have taken from the Dominion Bureau of Statistics indicates a proportion of young people 15 to 24 years old equal to 16.6% of the 1984 population. So, from a purely demographical point of view, the proportion of young people in 1966 may be considered normal. The fact that this proportion may reach 18.6% in 1971 simply means that this return to normalcy was slightly exceeded.

By 1984 this excessive effect of the baby boom will have disappeared and will give Canada a normal proportion of young people, or 4,372,000. This figure represents an increase of 350,000 over the 1971 figure. We are therefore forced to two conclusions: first, the rapid increase in the number of young people over the last 10 years has hardly done more than restore them to their normal place in the age structure of the population, so that the demographic factors cannot be considered responsible for the problems encountered by present-day youth, contrary to a rather widespread opinion. Second, the aging of the population due to a general low birth rate will only take place gradually. Demographic factors will not be able to help solve the youth problems during the next 15 years, for even the most restrictive projection promises us an increase of 250,000 young people by 1984[4]. Even if this increase were reduced to zero, the problems would not thereby be resolved. The thesis that finds a cause and effect relationship between the demographic and the socio-economic aspects of the youth problem thus appears mistaken.

The Socio-economic Context

The temporary demographic explosion of the postwar years has mainly served to reveal the combination of structural changes which have brought an accumulation of problems to Canadian youth over the last few years. It is by stressing the acuteness of the problems, which youth did not create, that this explosion has acted as a sign-post.

At the point where the demographic and socio-economic sectors meet, there is a growing trend towards a rise in the marriage rate, especially since the average marrying age of single men and women has been going down slowly but consistently from 26.4 to 23.5 years and from 23.2 to 21.2 years respectively between 1940 and 1968. Though this drop will undoubtedly not take the form of a rise in the birth rate among the women concerned, it may temporarily raise the birth rate to the extent that the periods between marriage, the birth of the first child and the birth of the second child do not become longer; indeed may become shorter. Basically, early marriages are one of the indications of the emancipation of young people and of their growing autonomy.

Emancipation is the basic factor; it calls for a difficult adjustment of society. The cultural and political amplitude of the problem raised is all the more serious since there are more young people on the labour market than there are available jobs.

A large number of young people looking for employment certainly is not a new phenomenon yet several factors give it a new configuration: the much greater number of young people, their economic autonomy, the requirements resulting from the fact they have a variety of secondary certificates, post-secondary diplomas and degrees, the strong competition between sexes and, in the near future, competition with a larger number of adults.

Attendance at School

Longer schooling may appear to be a remedy for the situation. Between 1921 and 1961, the percentage of

4. The most restrictive projection, with a total fertility rate of 2.25 children per woman and net immigration of 20,000 persons per year, still results in a 16% proportion of young people from 15 to 24 years of age.

Table 4

Changes in School Attendance by Young People, 1921–1961, as a Percentage of the Total Population in that Age Group

	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961
15-19	24.8	33.7	35.5	40.5	58.8
20-24	2.3	2.8	3.7	4.9	8.1

Source: *Census Bulletin*, 1961, 7.1-10, Table III.

Table 5

Changes in Enrolment, by Category, 1968–1971

	Elementary	Secondary	Post-secondary not university	University
1968-69	100	100	100	100
1969-70	101.3	105.0	119.5	110.5
1970-71	101.5	109.2	130.8	122.1

Source: DBS, Advance Statistics of Education-1970-1971.

young people attending school rose as shown in Table 4.

Attendance has continued to increase since 1961, according to most reliable indicators. This is an example of the way in which a demographic movement, brought about by a normal need for adjustment causes successive repercussions in a society that is ill-equipped to make major socio-economic changes cohesive.

It is questionable, given the persistently high rates of unemployment[5] for those between 15 and 19, and the relatively high rates for those 20 to 24, whether the economy would have been able to provide jobs for those who have entered or remained in educational institutions rather than the labour market.[6]

5. Employed - includes all persons who did any work for pay or profit; did any work which contributed to the running of a farm or business operated by a related member of the household; or had a job, but were not at work, because of bad weather, illness, industrial dispute, or vacation, or because they were taking time off for other reasons. Unemployed - includes all persons who were without work and seeking work, or would have been looking for work except that they were temporarily ill, were on indefinite or prolonged layoff, or believed no suitable work was available in the community; or were temporarily laid off, i.e., were waiting to be called back to a job from which they had been laid off for less than 30 days. Persons who had jobs but were not working and who also looked for work are included in the unemployed as persons without work and seeking work.

6. This leads to the proposition that increased school participation rates constitute a certain portion of disguised unemployment.

New Competition Factors

Under existing conditions the prospect of a decrease in the number of young people is rather slim, since we have noted that their number will likely increase by about 600,000 between 1971 and 1981, although it will drop fairly rapidly thereafter. This drop, when it occurs, will not improve the situation of young people which is gradually worsening under the effect of two factors: competition from adults and, where young men are concerned, competition from the expanding female labour force.

The first is a purely demographic factor; a major part of those born in the baby boom make up, today, the 15 to 24 year old age group. In 10 years they will bolster a particularly large 25 to 34 year old adult group. Between 1971 and 1981 these groups will increase by 47% instead of 16% in terms of the population as a whole. The aging process of the manpower supply will continue almost as long as these generations are members of the active population, i.e., beyond the year 2000. Before interpreting the effects of the aging of the baby boom generation on the employment situation of young people, look at the second factor.

Female participation in the labour force is increasing. This participation rose from 23.2% of women of all ages in 1950 to 23.9% in 1955, 27.9% in 1960, 31.3% in 1965 and 35.5% in 1970 (see Table 6).

While the participation rate is dropping in the

female under 20 group, just as in the male under 20 group, it is rising more rapidly, in the over 20 group, the older the women become.

Effect on the Employment of Young People

The effect of the growing number of both male and female workers, 25 and over, on the economic prospects of young people can be understood only by referring as well to the employment characteristics of young people. The youth labour force may be shown to be marginal for two reasons: the instability of young people who readily go from one job to another, and the increased requirements in order to qualify for jobs in industry. Reinforcing these factors is the low fixed cost of young labour which consequently places them at the top of the lay-off lists when there is a slowdown in business activity.

The weaknesses will become more marked when competition will exist between those people entering the labour force today and those who will demand access tomorrow. Older male workers have the advantage of occupational experience and unionization. There is no doubt about the substitution phenomenon when, between 1950 and 1970, the number of women 35 years old and over more than doubled, whereas the total number of wage-earners increased by only 58 per cent. These women have a low fertility rate[7] and consequently do not run very much risk of losing their jobs because of pregnancy. Since the 25 to 54 year old group of women will increase very substantially in the next three decades, this group's trend towards increasingly wider participation in the manpower supply will have a very depressing effect on their younger, and particularly male, competitors.

With the increase in the adult female labour force and continued over-expansion of the older male wage earner groups, young people will be at an even greater disadvantage in the future when they enter a long phase of demographic decline starting in 1981; their relative status will continue to dwindle to such an extent that they will have fewer jobs open to them; jobs that are less interesting. The uninteresting jobs that will be offered to them will only increase their instability and turnover; their lack of organization and occupational experience will accentuate their marginal character when there are fluctuations in the economic situation; more than ever, they will be the first to be laid off in times of recession.

7. In 1968, the legitimate fertility rate of the 35 to 39 year age group was 4.7 per cent. Women who work are less fertile than others at this age.

Employment

Introduction

The analysis of Canada's youth unemployment[8] problem leads to the following conclusions:

— Canadian youth experience a consistently high rate of unemployment, even when the economy is at or near full employment;

— the variations in youth unemployment during the business cycle exceed variations in all other groups in the labour force;[9]

— the ratio of the youth unemployment rate to the national unemployment rate has increased during the latter part of the 1960's and reflects a general deterioration in their employment prospects;

— there are distinct regional differences in the employment opportunities for the young.

This section highlights the important factors accounting for the employment picture among youth groups in the labour market.[10]

The first part of this section presents the post-war employment scene for Canadian youth, focusing on those economic statistics which reflect a disturbing pattern of change. An in-depth report on unemployment will be presented on an age, sex and regional basis, with most relevant empirical analysis summarized in tables based on available DBS data.

The second part analyses the summer employment situation. As indicated in the section, increased summer unemployment results from an actual decline in jobs as well as a high student demand. Extensive job creation would be necessary in order to support the student demand.

8. Unemployment is calculated in Canada by the responses to the question "Are you actively looking for work?" posed by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics in the monthly labour force survey. The technique of calculating unemployment varies from country to country and consequently unemployment rates are not comparable. This section defines youth unemployment as that part of the youth labour force (age 14-24) who were unemployed.

9. The labour force is composed of that portion of the civilian non-institutional population 14 years of age and over who are employed or unemployed. Not in the labour force includes all civilians 14 years of age and over (exclusive of institutional population) who are not classified as employed or unemployed. This category includes those going to school; keeping house; too old or otherwise unable to work; and voluntarily idle or retired. (Housewives, students and others who worked part-time are classified as employed. If they looked for work they are classified as unemployed.)

10. For a more complete analysis see Donner, Arthur and Lazar, Fred, *The Socio-Economic Aspects of Canadian Youth Unemployment.* A Report to the Committee on Youth, from which the material in this section is drawn.

Table 6

Variations in Female Participation in Labour Force by Age Group, based on 1950 = 100

	1950	1955	1960	1965	1970
15-19	100	99.7	98.8	91.5	92.1
20-24	100	99.8	103.2	113.4	126.1
25-34	100	100.8	113.8	129.6	162.5
35-44	100	113.2	142.9	166.3	196.1
45-54	100	117.5	160.8	195.8	214.8
55-64	100	111.4	161.3	204.5	225.7
Total	100 (23.2%)	103.0	120.2	134.9	153.0

Source: From DBS, Labour Force Survey Section (not published).

The third part gives reasons for the higher degree of unemployment among youth. The analysis focuses on why unemployment among the young (even when understated) is permanently greater than among the older labour groups, and why youth employment is fluctuating more than the core labour employment.[11] Higher voluntary turnover among younger employees may offer a partial explanation for the first observation. However, higher voluntary turnover alone cannot account for the extremely high unemployment rates currently observed among youth groups. This analysis suggests that the state of the economy, with its reduced potential for generating employment opportunities, especially for the young, must be given serious consideration.

The fourth part summarizes the main findings and offers some conclusions based on the evidence. One of the more fundamental conclusions emphasizes that special job training programmes, and other stop-gap promotional schemes to provide employment skills for the young, such as Manpower retraining programmes, are questionable unless the economy provides the sufficient over-all demand for labour. Young adults make up a large share of those unemployed. Because of the cyclical nature of their unemployment and labour force participation rates,[12] the young have a clear interest in promoting the full employment goal now being downplayed as part of anti-inflationary policies. The human and economic waste associated with high unemployment is an unfair trade-off for a better price performance relative to Canada's international trading partners. In other words, certain groups within the population are more vulnerable and inevitably suffer more by government efforts to combat inflation. Youth is one of the most vulnerable.

11. Core labour force - male members of the labour force between the ages of 25 and 45.

12. Labour force participation is the ratio of the official labour force of a demographic group to the total population of that same group.

The National Overview

It is generally accepted that unemployment hits the poorer groups of the population proportionately much harder than the more wealthy. Their inability to compete, particularly because of their level of education, makes the poorer groups the most expendable and the least able to protect themselves. It is less well known that unemployment is also a problem of the young, especially the teenager. In April 1971 there were 4.3 million Canadians between the ages of 14 and 24. Within that group around 2.1 million were in the labour force, and of these, 281,000 (13.6%) were unemployed.

The DBS seasonally unadjusted unemployment rate for teenage males in April 1971 stood at 19.8% (or 2.5 times as high as the national average); the unemployment rate for teenage females stood at a postwar high of 12.0% (or 1.5 times as high as the national average.)

Of the 659,000 unemployed Canadians last April, 281,000 were between the ages of 14 and 24. Forty per cent of the unemployed males were between the ages of 14 and 24 and 51% of unemployed females were between the ages of 14 and 24.

Our intention is not to downplay the magnitude of the unemployment problem facing the average Canadian head of household, but rather to highlight a neglected condition in the labour market, the unemployment problems of the young. Both regionally and nationally their problems have much of the same "chronic" element usually associated with older workers. Moreover the usual macroeconomic government policies which alleviate general unemployment

Table 7

Percentage Unemployed
by Age-Sex Breakdown in Canada

Year	National	Males					Females				
		All	14-19	20-24	25-34	35-44	All	14-19	20-24	25-34	35-44
1953	3.0	3.4	7.2	4.9	3.1	2.5	1.6	2.9	1.9	1.4	1.1
1954	4.6	5.1	10.1	7.7	4.8	3.8	2.6	5.3	2.6	2.2	1.7
1955	4.4	4.9	10.3	7.2	4.4	3.7	2.6	5.1	2.5	2.2	1.6
1956	3.4	3.9	8.1	5.7	3.4	3.0	1.9	4.0	1.8	1.9	1.1
1957	4.6	5.4	11.3	8.3	5.1	3.9	2.3	4.4	2.8	2.0	1.6
1958	7.0	8.1	16.7	12.7	7.7	6.1	3.6	7.4	4.1	3.2	2.3
1959	6.0	6.9	14.4	10.5	6.5	5.1	3.0	6.8	3.6	2.5	1.9
1960	7.0	8.1	16.4	12.3	7.6	6.2	3.6	8.6	4.0	2.7	2.4
1961	7.1	8.4	16.6	11.9	8.0	6.5	3.7	8.9	4.0	2.9	2.3
1962	5.9	6.8	14.5	9.9	6.0	5.2	3.3	7.6	3.7	2.5	2.4
1963	5.5	6.4	14.1	9.5	5.6	4.6	3.3	7.8	4.1	2.2	2.0
1964	4.7	5.3	12.2	7.8	4.5	3.7	3.1	7.6	3.3	2.3	1.8
1965	3.9	4.4	10.0	5.6	3.5	3.2	2.7	6.9	3.0	1.9	1.8
1966	3.6	4.0	9.6	5.3	3.0	2.8	2.6	6.4	2.6	2.0	1.8
1967	4.1	4.6	10.9	6.1	3.8	3.3	2.9	7.3	3.2	2.2	1.8
1968	4.8	5.5	12.8	7.6	4.4	4.1	3.4	8.3	4.2	2.3	2.2
1969	4.7	5.2	12.3	7.5	4.0	3.7	3.6	8.9	3.8	2.8	2.3
1970	5.9	6.6	15.0	10.5	5.3	4.6	4.5	11.4	5.1	3.2	3.0

Source: DBS, Labour Force Survey.

have less impact on the unemployment of the young.

As the earlier section of this chapter noted, high unemployment rates among the young cannot be explained as simply the product of either the postwar baby boom or the present recession: they are a permanent feature of the Canadian economic environment. Indeed, the unemployment rates of males 14 to 24 are currently just below the postwar highs reached during the recession in 1958. In only 3 of the past 18 years has the unemployment rate of males 14 to 19 been below 10%. Similarly, for males 20 to 24, their unemployment rates have been below 7% in only 3 of the years since 1958.

Table 8 dramatically illustrates that youth unemployment has been invariably high. Whether our economy is in the midst of a recession or a boom, the unemployment rates of females 14 to 19 have been at least twice as high as the unemployment rate recorded for all females. The same is true for their male counterparts. The unemployment rates of males 20 to 24 have been at least 1½ times as high as the national unemployment rates for men.

Females 20 to 24 seem to have fared relatively well. Their unemployment rate fluctuates around the average female unemployment rate and measures under the national unemployment rate in each year since 1953. However, for this particular group, volatile labour force participation behaviour obscures the picture presented in Tables 7 and 8.

Even though youth unemployment rates are inevitably high, the rates increase considerably during economic downswings. As the job market tightens during an economic decline, youth, in particular teenagers, lose more than their share of job opportunities. For example, from the boom year 1956 to the recession year 1958, the unemployment rates of males 14 to 19, 20 to 24, 25 to 34 and 35 to 44 increased by 8.6, 7.0, 4.3 and 3.1 percentage points respectively. For the corresponding female age groups the increases were 3.4, 2.3, 1.3 and 1.2 percentage points respectively.

Disproportionate increases in unemployment rates were repeated again during the years 1966 to 1970. During this period, the unemployment rates of males 14 to 19, 20 to 24, 25 to 34, and 35 to 44 increased by 5.4, 5.2,

Table 8

The Ratio of Selected Youth Unemployment Rates to the National Unemployment Rates by Sex, by Year

	Males 14-19	Females 14-19	Males 20-24	Females 20-24
1953	2.12	1.79	1.45	1.14
1954	1.96	2.06	1.50	1.03
1955	2.09	1.98	1.47	0.98
1956	2.09	2.09	1.47	0.92
1957	2.11	1.91	1.55	1.21
1958	2.05	2.04	1.55	1.12
1959	2.07	2.26	1.52	1.18
1960	2.02	2.37	1.51	1.10
1961	1.98	2.37	1.42	1.07
1962	2.12	2.30	1.44	1.11
1963	2.21	2.35	1.50	1.25
1964	2.32	2.45	1.47	1.08
1965	2.33	2.54	1.29	1.10
1966	2.40	2.48	1.31	1.01
1967	2.36	2.49	1.33	1.10
1968	2.35	2.42	1.40	1.23
1969	2.38	2.46	1.45	1.05
1970	2.31	2.51	1.60	1.13

Source: Calculated from Table 7.

2.3 and 1.8 percentage points respectively. For the corresponding female age groups, the increases were 5.0, 2.5, 1.2 and 1.2 percentage points respectively. In economic recoveries (cyclical upswings), the youth groups gain the most relative to other persons because their situation is worse at the start. For example, between 1961 and 1966, the unemployment rates of males 14 to 19, and 20 to 24 declined by 7.0 and 6.6 percentage points respectively, compared to declines of 5.0 and 3.7 percentage points in the unemployment rates of males 25 to 34, and 35 to 44. Yet even in cyclical upswings, the youth groups have the highest level of unemployment.

The data in the tables also hint at another development among unemployed youth. Over the postwar period, the employment prospects for males and females 14 to 19 and females 20 to 24 has been deteriorating and their unemployment rates have increased relative to the national rate. Only the unemployment position of males 20 to 24 has improved during the 1950's and 1960's. These separate trends are difficult to detect from Tables 7 and 8; however the general erosion is visible in Table 9. The proportion of unemployed between the ages of 14 and 24 has increased from a post-1953 low of 33% in 1961 to a present high of 45%.

Arguments concerning the dramatic rise in youth unemployment have focused on the position that such a rise is a result of the increased numbers of young persons entering the labour force in the past few years. This argument has validity when one is concerned only with the growing proportion of youth unemployed to the general population. There is another dimension. The constantly high rate of unemployed young persons coupled with the relatively fixed ratios of youth unemployed to the general population indicates that the real problem exists in the relationship of young persons to the functioning of the economic system - not in the numbers of young persons entering the labour force. In fact, our research suggests that just maintaining a full employment economy (as statistically defined at an unemployment rate of 3.5%) will not ensure relative or absolute employment stability for young workers. Ironically, as Table 10 reveals, the high rates of youth unemployment associated with the "desirable" 3.5% national unemployment rate tend to increase as this rate is maintained.

Table 9

The Age Group 14 to 24 as a Percentage of Total Number of Unemployed

1953	35.8%	1954	35.2%	1955	35.1%	1956	34.5%	1957	35.2%	1958	34.7%
1959	34.6%	1960	34.5%	1961	33.0%	1962	34.8%	1963	37.4%	1964	38.8%
1965	38.9%	1966	40.0%	1967	41.2%	1968	42.6%	1969	43.1%	1970	45.2%

Source: DBS (unpublished) Labour Force Survey data.

Table 10

Calculated Changes in Youth Unemployment Rates During a Prolonged Period of Full Employment (National Unemployment = 3.5)%*

	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Year 4	Year 5	Year 6
Males 14-19	9.72%	9.80%	9.88%	9.97%	10.05%	10.13%
Females 14-19	7.14	7.36	7.57	7.79	8.00	8.22
Males 20-24	4.96	4.91	4.86	4.81	4.77	4.72
Females 20-24	2.86	2.94	3.01	3.09	3.16	3.24

Source: Based on statistical regression equations 5 to 8 reported in the Annex of this chapter.

*This table should project the level of unemployment we might expect if the economy was run for a prolonged period at full employment (National Unemployment = 3.5%).

Table 10 illustrates several important policy implications. If full employment were to be achieved in the near future, and the structure of our economy were to continue developing as it has during the 1960's, the unemployment rates of males 14 to 19 and females 14 to 24 would continue to increase. What is distressing about these deteriorating trends is that despite considerable improvement in the average level of education of males 14 to 19 and females 14 to 24 in the latter half of the 1960's, there is concomitantly a consistent rise in unemployment amongst these age groups. In the first instance it would appear that the sector of youth which is unemployed is not participating in general educational growth. However, there may be increasing unemployment amongst those who have only secondary education.

Although the data in Tables 7, 8, and 9 show that high youth unemployment rates are not recent phenomena but are the long-term consequence of our mixed market system, these conclusions are unpopular enough to generate controversy. An alternative view suggests that the underlying employment position of youth has been improving except for some special factors - such as the baby boom. Table 11 suggests the essential superficiality of such a position.

In each year between 1965 and 1969, the percentage increases in employment of females and males 20 to 24 has exceeded the total annual percentage increases in employment of the respective sexes. However, the percentage increases in the population of males 20 to 24 has exceeded the percentage increase in employment in every year since 1966. At first glance it appears that the rapid increase in the population of this group has been the principal cause of rising unemployment among males 20 to 24. Yet this is only one aspect of the total picture. A large number of those who were unable to find work simply withdrew from the labour force. The annual increase in the number of males 20 to 24 not in the labour force increased by 19% in 1967 and 20% in 1968. Thus, the great bulk of the increase in people entering the 20 to 24 male age group withdrew from the labour force and hence the labour force participation rates for these groups fell. This absorbed the extra manpower to a greater extent than the increase in unemployment in this age group.

For both the female and male teenage groups, the increases in employment were not only insufficient to absorb their growth in population, but also were well below the national averages registered in 1968 and 1969. Further, if proper cognizance were to be taken of the young persons who become discouraged searching for non-existent jobs and who withdrew from the labour force (according to DBS definitions), the true dimensions of the unemployment problem among youth would stand out even more dramatically. Even the relatively low April 1971 unemployment rate for females 20 to 24 would be considerably inflated and as the economic condition in the latter 1960's began to deteriorate, these age groups suffered far out of proportion to their statistical share of the population.

Conceptually, the forces at work may be placed in two categories, the discouraged worker effect and the added worker effect. Most observers of the youth labour market accept the proposition that the impact of the latter effect when the economy slows is numerically small on youth unemployment. However the former effect is quite important. When economic activity in Canada slackens and job opportunities dwindle, a large number of young persons, especially females, withdraw from active participation in the labour force. Some of these young persons return to school, but most are classified by DBS terminology as retired, that is, neither working nor seeking work. This latter group constitutes the disguised or hidden unemployed.[13]

In order to become more familiar with the relative magnitude of hidden unemployment among youth, it was estimated what the unemployment rates would be if statistical adjustments were made for the disguised component. These estimates are presented in Table 12.

Hidden unemployment among youth becomes more serious as economic conditions deteriorate nationally. The inclusion of disguised unemployment increases the unemployment rates of males 14 to 19 and females 20 to 24 by as much as five and four percentage points respectively when the national unemployment rate exceeds 6%.

Statisticians also recognize another source of bias in the measurement of the unemployment rates of youth groups. In the Labour Force Survey, students who worked part-time are classified as fully employed. This classification tends to give downward bias to the official unemployment rate among the youth groups, possibly by as much as five percentage points. Taking both biases into consideration, the total understatement may be as much as 11 percentage points. For example, the reported DBS unemployment rate for males 14 to 19 was 17.5% in March 1971 whereas the true unemployment rate might be between 23% and 27%. The tragedy of this statistical problem is that it becomes aggravated when national unemployment rises, thus greatly understating the true magnitude of youth unemployment, and the number of new jobs necessary to alleviate the problem.

The Provincial Review

In this section the analysis is extended to the different economic regions of Canada. Unfortunately the scope of the analysis is hindered by the lack of statistical data. For most analytical purposes, comparable data on youth unemployment is available only on a regional basis. The Committee is aware that differences within the economic regions are as wide as differences between the regions themselves. Although the research was therefore limited, such probing is fruitful even though the use of aggregate data obscures considerable inter-regional unemployment variations. The statistical background for this discussion is summarized in Tables 13 and 14.

These tables suggest that the previously discussed national trends extend into all the regions in Canada. The five major regions exhibited high rates of youth unemployment in the postwar period although the differences between regions are themselves quite wide. For example, the reported unemployment rates of youth 14 to 19 and 20 to 24 has exceeded the regional all-age unemployment rates in every year since 1953. Differences between youth unemployment rates among the regions appear to resemble differences between regional unemployment rates generally. Although

13. Disguised (hidden) unemployed - persons who are potentially available for work; (i.e., the voluntarily idle or retired) but are not actively searching for work. If jobs were available, they would become employed.

Table 11

Annual Rates of Growth in Population, Employment, and not in Labour Force, by Selected Age-Sex Groups (%).

	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969
Males 14-19 Percentage Annual Rates of Growth					
in Group's Population	4.6	3.9	3.4	3.2	2.9
in Group's Employment	8.0	4.3	4.2	0.2	0.5
in Group's not in Labour Force Component	4.1	4.1	2.0	3.7	4.8
Males 20-24 Percentage Annual Rates of Growth					
in Group's Population	6.5	7.4	7.7	7.0	6.1
in Group's Employment	8.2	7.6	5.1	3.2	6.2
in Group's not in Labour Force Component	12.1	9.5	18.9	20.3	7.0
All Males Percentage Annual Rates of Growth					
in Group's Population	2.4	2.7	3.0	2.8	2.6
in Group's Employment	3.1	2.9	2.0	1.2	2.4
in Group's not in Labour Force Component	3.5	3.2	4.1	5.1	4.2
Females 14-19 Percentage Annual Rates of Growth					
in Group's Population	4.6	3.9	3.3	2.7	2.3
in Group's Employment	6.3	8.2	3.1	0.8	1.0
in Group's not in Labour Force Component	4.1	2.3	2.9	3.1	2.5
Females 20-24 Percentage Annual Rates of Growth					
in Group's Population	4.6	5.6	6.7	6.4	5.4
in Groups' Employment	8.1	12.3	7.6	8.6	7.6
in Group's not in Labour Force Component	1.4	−1.3	4.6	2.0	3.0
All Females Percentage Annual Rates of Growth					
in Group's Population	2.4	2.6	2.9	2.8	2.6
in Group's Employment	5.7	7.4	5.8	4.1	4.9
in Group's not in Labour Force Component	1.2	0.5	1.4	1.9	1.3

Source: Calculated from DBS Labour Force Survey.

Table 12

Estimates of the Understatement of Youth Group Unemployment Rates

National Unemployment Rates*	Males 14–19	Females 14–19	Males 20–24	Females 20–24
	Estimated Rate of Unemployment Per Group (a)			
3.5	9.59%	6.83%	5.19%	3.00%
	Rate Including Estimates of Understatement (b)			
3.5	11.17	7.19	5.45	4.04
	Estimated Rate of Unemployment Per Group (a)			
4.5	12.12	8.49	6.86	3.76
	Rate Including Estimates of Understatement (b)			
4.5	15.19	9.21	7.39	5.86
	Estimated Rate of Unemployment Per Group (a)			
5.5	14.57	10.02	8.66	4.48
	Rate Including Estimates of Understatement (b)			
5.5	19.04	11.09	9.43	7.59
	Actual Rate (c)			
6.4 (March 1971)	17.5	12.3	12.1	6.0
	Rate Including Estimates of Understatement (b)			
6.4 (March 1971)	22.6	13.3	13.5	9.9

*Rates of 3.5, 4.5 and 5.5 are arbitrary.

(a) Calculated youth group unemployment rates associated with a given national rate.

(b) Calculated unemployment rates including estimates of the disguised element, at a given national rate.

(c) Actual seasonally adjusted unemployment rates, March 1971.
Source: These data were calculated from statistical regression equations 1 to 8 reported in the Annex to this chapter.

the rates vary, the ratio remains relatively constant, because the unemployment rate is a function of the economic situation of a region, and the ratio appears as a function of age.

Youth unemployment is persistently high in the Atlantic provinces, Quebec and B.C. These areas display chronically high rates of general unemployment. Within every region teenagers register higher rates of unemployment than 20 to 24 year olds. Quebec youth suffer disproportionately during recessions, and indeed their situation was exacerbated in the latest recession. During the 1956 to 1960 recession the official unemployment rate among Quebec teenagers rose from 7.9% to 16%. In the recent recession their unemployment rate doubled again, but starting from a much higher base. In 1966, teenagers in Quebec reported a 9.5% unemployment rate, which leaped to 18.6% in 1970.

The experience of teenagers in the Atlantic provinces and B.C. is also discouraging. In 1970 they registered 17.5% and 15.5% unemployment rates respectively. If one adds an adjustment to these recorded unemployment rates to reflect the statistical disparities discussed earlier then the higher adjusted rates approached startling proportions.

The extent of this concern is highlighted in Table 13, especially by focusing on the high unemployment years 1956 and 1966. In 1956 the national unemployment rate averaged 3.4%, while teenage unemployment rates across Canada varied between 3.7% and 11.6%. In 1966, national unemployment was in the same range, although teenage unemployment across Canada ranged somewhat higher, between 4.8% and 14.1%. The trends, repeated among the older youth groups as well, suggest that high unemployment is a continuing problem of the young, and also that their relative position has deteriorated further in the 1960's. This deterioration will continue.

Table 13

Unemployment Rates of Youth Groups
of the Five Economic Regions of Canada

		Atlantic			Quebec			Ontario			Prairies			British Columbia		
Year	National	All Ages	14–19	20–24	All Ages	14–19	20–24	All Ages	14–19	20–24	All Ages	14–19	20–24	All Ages	14–19	20–24
1953	3.0	4.8	9.2	6.6	3.3	5.8	4.3	1.7	3.8	2.1	1.4	2.5	2.1	3.4	9.9	4.6
1954	4.6	6.3	14.0	9.2	5.7	8.7	6.9	3.5	7.2	4.6	2.4	4.2	3.4	4.7	11.3	5.6
1955	4.4	6.2	13.2	9.5	6.0	10.2	7.1	2.9	5.7	3.4	2.9	5.3	3.9	3.5	8.4	4.0
1956	3.4	5.6	11.6	7.3	4.8	7.9	5.7	2.0	4.2	2.6	1.9	3.7	2.4	2.4	7.3	3.4
1957	4.6	7.9	14.1	10.7	5.8	9.9	7.5	3.1	6.6	4.8	2.4	4.1	2.9	4.6	9.9	6.0
1958	7.0	11.9	20.9	14.9	8.5	14.5	10.8	5.0	11.1	7.3	3.7	6.8	4.9	7.8	14.8	11.2
1959	6.0	10.4	18.8	13.4	7.7	13.2	9.8	4.2	9.1	5.0	3.0	4.9	4.7	5.8	13.5	7.8
1960	7.0	10.2	17.1	13.2	9.0	16.2	11.3	5.1	11.0	6.4	3.9	6.9	5.9	8.0	16.4	10.1
1961	7.1	11.3	17.0	13.2	9.3	16.1	10.9	5.5	11.3	7.1	4.7	8.2	6.1	8.6	16.5	10.3
1962	5.9	10.8	19.4	13.8	7.5	13.5	8.8	4.3	9.8	5.3	3.9	6.4	5.4	6.8	14.7	8.0
1963	5.5	9.6	17.9	12.0	7.5	14.7	9.3	3.8	9.2	5.1	3.7	6.5	5.1	6.4	12.4	8.2
1964	4.7	8.0	16.2	9.3	6.3	12.1	8.1	3.3	9.0	4.0	3.1	5.7	3.2	5.4	13.2	9.0
1965	3.9	7.5	15.0	8.8	5.4	11.1	5.8	2.5	6.7	3.2	2.6	4.7	2.8	4.2	11.5	4.7
1966	3.6	6.4	14.1	7.4	4.7	9.5	5.0	2.5	6.6	3.2	2.1	4.8	2.3	4.6	10.3	5.1
1967	4.1	6.7	15.0	7.2	5.3	11.2	6.0	3.1	8.2	3.9	2.3	4.9	2.8	5.2	11.6	6.6
1968	4.8	7.3	16.1	9.0	6.5	13.3	7.9	3.6	9.3	4.5	2.9	6.7	3.7	6.0	12.7	8.4
1969	4.7	7.5	16.5	9.5	6.9	15.1	7.8	3.1	8.3	3.9	2.9	7.0	4.1	5.0	10.9	6.7
1970	5.9	7.6	17.5	10.5	7.9	18.6	10.2	4.3	10.9	6.0	4.1	8.8	6.8	7.7	15.5	11.0

Source: DBS, Labour Force Survey (unpublished).

Summer Unemployment

During the summer months of 1970 (June, July and August) the unemployment rates of young workers across Canada stood at postwar highs, ranging from 5.2% for 20 to 24 year olds in the Prairies to 19.0% for teenagers in Quebec. In general we would expect the summer employment picture to mirror and to be exacerbated by national economic conditions. Therefore in 1970, a year of economic recession, the appearance of historically high summer unemployment rates among the young was not surprising. Unfortunately, the prospects for economic conditions are at least as bleak in 1971 as they were in 1970. With the expected increased number of students seeking jobs this summer, we may witness the high unemployment rates of last year surpassed in 1971.

Although high youth unemployment in 1970 reflected the national economic picture, a closer inspection of Table 15 reveals that the summer employment opportunities for teenagers in Ontario, Quebec and the Maritimes began eroding as early as 1968.

On the supply side, young people are staying in schools and universities longer, thereby delaying entrance into the permanent labour force. This, together with the postwar baby boom, has resulted in larger numbers of students seeking temporary and summer employment. On the demand side, anti-inflationary economic policies have resulted in a continuously deteriorating employment scene since 1968, and have had a particularly grave effect on the generation of job opportunities for students.

In each summer since 1968, the absolute number of teenagers employed declined from the previous year; Quebec teenagers experienced the largest contraction (7% in both 1968 and 1970). It is equally discouraging to note that despite a rapid increase between 1966 and 1969 in the number of persons between the ages of 20 and 24 working over the summer months (the annual increase being over 10% in some cases: Ontario in 1966 and 1969; Quebec

Table 14

The Ratio of Selected Youth Unemployment Rates to Total Unemployment Rates for Given Regions

	Atlantic		Quebec		Ontario		Prairies		British Columbia	
	14–19[a]	20–24[b]	14–19	20–24	14–19	20–24	14–19	20–24	14–19	20–24
1953	1.9[a]	1.4[b]	1.7	1.3	2.1	1.2	1.8	1.5	2.9	1.4
1954	2.2	1.5	1.5	1.2	2.0	1.3	1.7	1.4	2.3	1.2
1955	2.1	1.5	1.7	1.2	1.9	1.2	1.7	1.3	2.3	1.2
1956	2.0	1.3	1.6	1.2	2.0	1.3	1.8	1.2	2.9	1.4
1957	1.8	1.4	1.7	1.3	2.1	1.5	1.7	1.2	2.1	1.3
1958	1.7	1.3	1.7	1.3	2.2	1.5	1.8	1.3	1.9	1.4
1959	1.8	1.3	1.7	1.3	2.1	1.2	1.6	1.6	2.3	1.3
1960	1.6	1.3	1.8	1.2	2.1	1.3	1.7	1.5	2.0	1.3
1961	1.5	1.2	1.7	1.2	2.0	1.3	1.7	1.3	1.9	1.2
1962	1.8	1.3	1.8	1.2	2.3	1.2	1.6	1.4	2.1	1.2
1963	1.8	1.2	1.9	1.2	2.4	1.3	1.7	1.4	1.9	1.3
1964	2.0	1.2	1.9	1.3	2.7	1.2	1.8	1.0	2.4	1.7
1965	1.9	1.2	2.0	1.1	2.6	1.2	1.8	1.1	2.7	1.1
1966	2.1	1.1	2.0	1.1	2.6	1.3	2.2	1.1	2.3	1.1
1967	2.2	1.1	2.1	1.1	2.6	1.2	2.1	1.2	2.2	1.3
1968	2.1	1.2	2.0	1.2	2.6	1.3	2.3	1.2	2.1	1.4
1969	2.2	1.3	2.2	1.1	2.6	1.2	2.4	1.4	2.1	1.3
1970	2.3	1.4	2.3	1.3	2.5	1.4	2.0	1.5	2.0	1.4

Source: Calculated from Table 13.

a - Ratio 14-19 year old unemployment rate for region to all age regional unemployment rate.

b - Ratio 20-24 year old unemployment rate for region to all age regional unemployment rate.

1966, and British Columbia in 1968 and 1969), the unemployment rates of this youth group did not decline in any region. On the contrary, between 1966 and 1969, unemployment among 20 to 24 year olds increased in all areas, except British Columbia (from 4.7 to 7.0% in the Maritimes; 4.4 to 6.4% in Quebec; 3.2 to 3.3% in Ontario and 1.8 to 3.2% in the Prairies). The data in Table 15 clearly indicates that total summer employment declined since 1968, while the numbers seeking summer work continued to grow. Thus, even with an improving economic situation, the summer employment prospects of students are likely to remain poor in the next few years. On the basis of these trends it is questionable whether the large number of new summer jobs required just to maintain student unemployment rates at a steady level will be forthcoming in the future.

The shrinkage in the number of summer jobs available may be the logical outgrowth of the basic changes that have affected the economy since the Second World War. The idea of summer vacation for students is based upon an archaic concept of the needs of the Canadian economy. In many ways the structure of the school year was designed to meet the manpower needs of an agrarian society. The seasonal demands of the Canadian economy cannot be expected to absorb the army of essentially unskilled manpower that descends upon it each summer. Governments have spent considerable amounts in "Hire a Student" campaigns, summer recruitment to the public service, and in military militia training. Most students attest to the futility and basic vulgarity of these make-work schemes. Even the return from such well intentioned schemes as "Opportunities for Youth" must be seriously challenged. The Committee believes that a cost-benefit study of the present system of generating summer employment as a means of assisting students to finance their studies would prove that the return on the money expended could be significantly increased by direct assistance to students and a less archaic school year structure.

Table 15

Summer Unemployment in the Five Major Regions-Selected Years

	14–19*	14–19**	20–24*	20–24**		14–19*	14–19**	20–24*	20–24**
Atlantic Region					Prairies				
1956	7.2	1.0	2.8	2.5	1956	1.1	10.2	0.3	1.0
1958	14.1	−8.3	9.5	2.4	1958	4.5	9.0	3.3	0.5
1960	11.4	2.1	6.9	9.6	1960	4.8	4.1	3.6	3.6
1962	14.8	−8.2	9.5	−0.8	1962	4.4	10.4	2.0	3.3
1964	10.5	11.5	4.8	−1.9	1964	5.9	5.7	1.6	−2.0
1966	10.6	0.1	4.7	7.4	1966	3.8	2.0	1.8	7.4
1967	9.8	6.7	4.5	6.6	1967	4.4	2.3	1.7	7.3
1968	12.8	−7.0	7.3	8.9	1968	7.6	3.1	3.0	8.7
1969	14.4	−2.4	7.0	5.1	1969	6.5	3.2	3.2	4.5
1970	15.3	−0.1	9.0	3.8	1970	8.3	5.6	5.2	4.6
Quebec					British Columbia				
1956	7.1	4.0	3.0	−1.0	1956	4.7	11.1	2.3	5.0
1958	12.8	−1.8	7.7	1.1	1958	10.9	−9.5	9.1	−11.8
1960	12.6	1.6	7.6	4.7	1960	13.7	1.5	8.2	−6.8
1962	12.0	7.2	6.2	6.5	1962	14.0	12.0	6.8	6.1
1964	12.2	8.0	6.3	4.2	1964	14.3	11.5	6.4	3.0
1966	9.8	3.0	4.4	10.2	1966	11.5	11.6	5.1	7.9
1967	10.5	8.6	4.6	7.5	1967	11.4	2.4	4.8	5.8
1968	13.6	−7.2	6.5	1.5	1968	14.4	9.8	5.9	10.6
1969	14.8	0.0	6.4	5.0	1969	11.4	8.2	5.0	12.9
1970	19.0	−7.1	10.0	−2.4	1970	18.4	−4.6	11.6	−0.3
Ontario									
1956	3.2	9.2	1.7	3.9					
1958	8.1	−10.1	6.0	1.0					
1960	10.4	−1.8	5.1	−2.0					
1962	10.5	10.1	4.2	0.6					
1964	10.3	8.5	3.1	6.8					
1966	8.4	8.9	3.2	10.4					
1967	9.7	5.4	3.4	8.1					
1968	11.9	0.2	4.3	8.3					
1969	9.6	−1.3	3.3	10.0					
1970	12.3	3.6	5.7	0.6					

14-19* Summer unemployment—June, July, August (%)

14-19** Percentage annual change in total employment over the summer months. This table indicates the actual percentage decline of job opportunities.

20-24* Summer unemployment—June, July, August (%)

20-24** Percentage annual change in total employment over the summer months.

Source: DBS, Labour Force Surveys (unpublished).

Reasons for Youth Unemployment

Introduction

There appear to be several key factors which account for much of the difference in the treatment of youth labour[14] and the rest of the labour force. The national labour market consists of many different groups. These different groups are distinguished by location, skills and other basic characteristics of the participants. Age appears to provide rough boundary lines for skill levels. It is not surprising that the market for youth labour is separate from the rest of the labour market: 16 year olds rarely compete for the same jobs with 40 year olds. The employment opportunities open to a university graduate are very different from those available to a high school drop-out.

The demands for various labour services, however, are inter-related, and unemployment rates in these separate markets tend to move in a parallel manner. This coincidence of unemployment response to national economic activity suggests considerable interplay between these various groups. Thus segmentation of the markets has not insulated youth unemployment rates from changes in economic policy.

Relatively High Youth Unemployment Rates

It was pointed out earlier that even when the economy operates at full employment, the unemployment rates of males 14 to 19 and 20 to 24, and females 14 to 19, tend to be far in excess of the acceptable national rate. To a large extent this experience of the young is explained by the presence of a much larger proportion of frictional or voluntary unemployment within these groups. Job turnover is higher for the young, and exceedingly high for those in their early teens.

Most young people leave new jobs after short stays, finding the positions less desirable than anticipated. Since they are not yet fully committed to full-time, year-round wage earning and, in most cases, they have not developed significant vested interests in a job (e.g., pension rights and seniority), it is natural to expect considerable employment experimentation by young persons. Only in this way can they achieve, in the long run, the most satisfactory employment opportunity.

There are two other factors which result in high job turnover among the young. These factors also reflect the expected behaviour of these individuals. The young have not as yet developed the formal and informal contacts for job-seeking which emerge only with experience. Consequently, their position in the labour market is analogous to that of a tourist who pays higher prices in a market than does an experienced buyer; that is, on the average, a young person's initial and succeeding job contacts rarely match up with his training, education or aspirations. Even if a young person is thorough in his job search, he may still find the best opportunity a disappointing one. This follows directly from the hierarchical structures within most business organizations.

14. Youth labour force - persons in the labour force between the ages of 14 and 24.

New entrants into a firm are assigned to the unskilled or bottom jobs and must work their way up.

The rationale for explaining why one should expect young people to experience persistently high rates of unemployment is based on their relative inefficiency in the job search activity as well as their natural inclinations to experiment before settling into permanent employment. How high should unemployment rates become before alarm sets in? To answer this, one should look into the structure of unemployment in 1966, a year of over-all full employment. Superficially, one would expect that most of the unemployment among the youth groups in that year was frictional;[15] the analysis is not that simple. For the older groups, 20 to 24, the unemployment rates (5.3% for males and 3.0% for females) probably measured fairly close to the "normal" or frictional level of unemployment. However, the other groups, the teenagers, had rates of unemployment (9.6% for males and 6.4% for females) far in excess of the rates which would accord with the hypothesis that the unemployed are making a normal transition from one job to a better one.

There appears to be an additional component of abnormal unemployment among this group. Some of these individuals between the ages of 14 and 19 exhibit what seems to be a frightening inability to hold a job. They change frequently and erratically from one low-paying unpleasant job to another, experiencing unemployment with most changes, often several times a year.

Actually this should not be too surprising as the educational system acts as, or is used by employers as a screening process. Most young people between 14 and 17 years of age who have entered the labour force lack the education and skills required for an increasingly competitive and technological society or, more recently are judged by employers to lack the paper certification this new era demands. For those who embark on their employment career at a later stage, they generally exhibit additional interest and are willing to work steadily at relatively low-paying jobs. Unlike many young working people between 14 and 19, these individuals are often able to start up a job ladder by establishing a stable employment record.

This disadvantaged group of young people is representative of the conditions of structured poverty and marginal employment in the traditionally poorer areas in Canada. Youth here seem to be the sons and daughters of the unskilled marginally employed. They are caught in the poverty cycle and drift from one unsatisfactory job to another, spending the time between jobs either unemployed or out of the labour force. They cause increasing demands upon the welfare system. If these individuals are conditioned to accept unemployment as a way of life, the effect on the fabric of our society is, to say the least, difficult to analyze.

15. Voluntary (frictional) unemployment - unemployment encountered by persons who have voluntarily quit their jobs in order to search for new and better ones and by new entrants into the labour force seeking their first job. Such unemployment is usually of a very short-term nature.

Cyclical Variability in Youth Unemployment[16]

Essentially, this volatile behaviour (the unemployment rates of the young fluctuate more widely over the business cycle than the unemployment rates of prime age workers) is linked to the employer's attitude regarding the skill composition of his work force. Labour represents a large share of his costs. Part of these costs are regarded as fixed over the plant's working life. The remaining portion of these costs are variable, since an employer may choose not to incur them. When an employer evaluates his employment needs, he usually relies on an established framework in his accounting process. This framework involves average hourly wages (variable costs), as well as hiring and specific training costs (fixed costs).[17]

Since the firms' hiring costs and training costs for youth groups are relatively low, they view young workers as comprising their most variable labour component; that is, it is the group in which they have invested the least time, effort and cost in training. "You can afford to lose a labourer,

16. Cyclical unemployment - unemployment that is related to short-run fluctuations in economic activity.

17. Specific training is defined as that which increases a worker's productivity to a particular firm without affecting his productivity in alternative employments. This fixed component varies directly with the skill level of the worker, i.e., the greater the skill of the worker, the more important a role played by the fixed element. Since fixed labour costs are analogous to investment expenditure for the firm, the larger the proportion of fixed to total costs for a particular worker, the greater his degree of fixity in employment. Accordingly, the greater a worker's skill, the more he becomes like a capital input into the production process: the fixed employment cost associated with each worker must be amortized over the expected period of employment of each worker. The firm can lower its total labour costs by amortizing the fixed labour costs over a longer period of time (i.e., a longer employment period). Consequently, it is sensible for a firm to plan to minimize the turnover of specifically trained workers. Policies aimed at this goal are exemplified by pension and profit-sharing plans, promotion and payment of wage premiums. Furthermore, if a readjustment in factor employment is required by the subsequent course of actual demand, the firm will make these readjustments in the employment of workers with low degrees of fixity and relatively low skill levels (the youth labour force). Such a policy will tend to minimize the costs of readjustment of employed factors. Thus, workers with low degrees of fixity will experience relatively greater shifts in demand as the result of any given short-run change in product demand.

you cannot afford to lose a foreman." Consequently, in a recession, the young people are the first to be laid-off, and paradoxically, the first to be hired in an expansion.[18]

General Deterioration in the Youth Employment Situation

When postwar unemployment data was subjected to statistical regression analysis, the picture of deteriorating employment opportunities for the young was strongly confirmed. The research concluded that the unemployment rate of males 14 to 19, and females 14 to 24, increased relative to the national rate, after the influence of cyclical economic factors was removed (see Annex). Only the unemployment position of males 20 to 24 improved during the 1950's and 1960's.

In addition to their generally rapid rate of population growth, the explanation for the deteriorating trends in the employment prospects of the teen-age members in the labour force lies in the rapid technological developments and transformation of job requirements. We are probably witnessing a relative decline in demand for persons without developed skills - unfortunately teen-age entrants into the work force figure largely in this group.

Regional Disparities and Youth Unemployment

The data presented in Tables 13 and 14 confirmed that regional variations in youth unemployment closely reflect the broad economic differences which exist among regions. Quebec and the Maritimes have always had higher than average unemployment rates, and as a result, the youth groups have suffered disproportionately. The Prairies and Ontario usually display lower than average unemployment rates, and their youth groups share in these advantages. As far as the regional factor in youth unemployment is concerned, the most important variable appears to be the structure and economic health of the region involved. The regional poverty cycle clearly extends down into the youth groups.

18. Another way in which firms adjust to changing economic conditions is by varying the skill mix of their labour force. Firms adjust to a downswing by raising hiring standards, and through a series of displacements increase the average quality of workers in each skill category. Some of the displaced workers in the higher skill categories are downgraded to lower skill jobs, creating even further displacements lower down in the firm hierarchy. The successive bumping effect shifts down through the skill hierarchy of jobs and results in relatively greater unemployment in the low-skill categories. In the upswing, firms adjust by relaxing hiring standards and upgrading workers to higher skill jobs. The net effect is to decrease unemployment relatively more in the low-skill categories.

Conclusion

The main thesis has been to highlight Canada's youth unemployment problem, a problem which has existed through the entire postwar period. The demonstrated 20-year pattern of disproportionately high unemployment among Canadian youth rests not in the high numbers of young people, but rather in the functioning of the economic system and in the specific behaviour of youth in the labour market. Moreover, the present rate of youth unemployment will continue for at least the next 10 years and possibly for a much longer time.

High rates of permanent youth unemployment largely reflect youth without a senior secondary or post-secondary education. The increased under-utilization of the untrained in the labour market will exacerbate the unemployment position for these people.

Research shows that the high increases in summer unemployment for students will remain and probably grow as more students enter post-secondary education. Lack of summer employment will prevent many from continuing full-time post-secondary education. Such unemployment is clearly not good for the student or for the economy.

Student employment will be altered in the future. Continued change in the occupational structure wrought by technological change will result in more frequent career shifting by students. Students will become unemployed for periods of time while employment prospects are sought.

Extended periods of unemployment by the younger groups in the labour force may result in fundamental changes in attitudes towards work by these people. This would have an unpredictable effect on Canadian society.

Youth will continue to suffer most from the counter-cyclical and anti-inflationary policies of the government. The authorities should endeavour to smooth out their economic policy mix so that economic expansion will ensure full employment - by sex, region and age.

Annex

Statistical Regression Equations used in the Calculation of Tables 10 and 12

Labour Force Participation Equations — Youth Groups

1. Males 14–19	$\frac{LF\ 14-19}{POP}$	$= 0.5360$	$- 0.6590\ U_n$	$- 0.0084\ T$	
		(24.51)	(−1.95)	(−8.96)	
	$\bar{R}^2 = 0.848$			DW = 0.537	
2. Males 20–24	$\frac{LF\ 20-24}{POP}$	$= 0.9276$	$- 0.2416\ U_n$	$- 0.0084\ T_1$	
		(141.02)	(−2.14)	(−9.69)	
	$\bar{R}^2 = 0.969$			DW = 2.447	
3. Females 14–19	$\frac{LF\ 14-19}{POP}$	$= 0.3417$	$- 0.1207\ U_n$	$- 0.0019\ T$	
		(26.68)	(−0.61)	(−3.47)	
	$\bar{R}^2 = 0.419$			DW = 0.702	
4. Females 20–24	$\frac{LF\ 20-24}{POP}$	$= 0.4506$	$- 0.6450\ U_n$	$+ 0.0092\ T$	
		(23.68)	(−2.20)	(11.23)	
	$\bar{R}^2 = 0.914$			DW = 0.868	

5. Males 14–19	$\frac{U\ 14-19}{U_n}$	$= 2.4927$	$- 4.5152 U_n$	$+ 0.8873 \Delta U_n$	$+ 0.0238\ T$
		(33.14)	(−4.33)	(0.71)	(8.95)
	$\bar{R}^2 = 0.397$		DW = 1.347		
6. Males 20–24	$\frac{U\ 20-24}{U_n}$	$= 1.5552$	$+ 4.5519 U_n$	$+ 0.6376 \Delta U_n$	$- 0.0136\ T$
		(14.56)	(2.67)	(0.31)	(−3.13)
	$\bar{R}^2 = 0.612$		DW = 1.623		
7. Females 14–19	$\frac{U\ 14-19}{U_n}$	$= 1.1351$	$- 6.5126 U_n$	$- 1.5147 \Delta U_n$	$+ 0.0615\ T$
		(9.01)	(−3.24)	(0.63)	(11.97)
	$\bar{R}^2 = 0.931$		DW = 2.000		
8. Females 20–24	$\frac{U\ 20-24}{U_n}$	$= 1.5627$	$- 2.1040 U_n$	$+ 1.4211 \Delta U_n$	$+ 0.0216\ T$
		(8.57)	(−2.01)	(1.13)	(8.05)
	$\bar{R}^2 = 0.846$		DW = 2.245		

$\frac{LF}{POP}$ = labour force participation ratio

U_n = national unemployment rate

T = time trend, 1 in 1953 to 17 in 1969

T_1 = time trend, 0 from 1953-60, 1 in 1961 to 9 in 1969

$\bar{R}^2$ = explained variation (adjusted)

DW = Durbin-Watson statistics

ΔU_n = Change in national unemployment rate

Introduction

Statistics can provide only a skeletal outline of the situation in which Canadian youth finds itself. Disadvantages in the employment situation, gross regional disparities in opportunity, the frequent failure of educational systems to match training with job requirements, the unresponsiveness of many large-scale institutions and so on all profoundly affect the lives of young people. One cannot begin to comprehend the depth of the frustrations among young persons without an understanding of this perspective of youth themselves.

With this consideration in mind, the Committee decided to place less emphasis upon the collection of quantitative, survey-research data. Such an approach would have been too limited to capture the varied depths and heights of youth's reactions to living in contemporary Canada. The Committee chose techniques of participant observation, interviews with youth leaders and open hearings to get at the vivid and diverse reality of youthful opinion across Canada. The rapport established between the Committee, its representatives and youth allowed young persons to talk about what they themselves felt - not what the Committee preconceived was of interest to youth.

The first impression gleaned from this approach was one of profound multiplicity. Many young persons wanted to follow their parents' footsteps in the community where they lived. Just as many had economic ambitions which exceeded those of their parents. These ambitions implied a criticism of the parents and the educational system. Frustrated in finding a path to achieve these goals, many youth displayed an inarticulate sense of alienation, expressed occasionally in rowdyism or heavy drinking.

Many turned to the sense of community nurtured within the popular youth culture; they experimented with drugs and collective styles of living and had begun to mobilize a coherent critique of Canadian society. Others were overtly critical of the institutions where they spent most of their time - schools, universities and their work environment. Sometimes, they turned to strategies of direct action. Of these, a few let their desire for qualitative change spill over into analyses of and action in local communities. Some, disillusioned vicariously or actually by experiences with existing social, education, economic and political institutions, sank into a bitter and articulate despair about the chances for improvement.

So varied were the reactions of young persons across Canada that it was quite impossible for the Committee to view them in any other way than as an inextricable part of their local communities and Canadian society as a whole. However, their opinions and attitudes were often qualitatively different from those of their parents and authorities in general.

Certain factors make for this diversity. Differences in general income levels, mobility, patterns of industrialization and degrees of urbanization had a profound impact on young persons' attitudes, as did the extent to which certain regions had articulated coherent cultural aspirations - a sense of identity. Similarly, the level and nature of political debate in a region often provided a reference point around which young persons could react. These factors provided a context in which young persons could form opinions about the church, the family, the school system, the media, employment opportunities, recreational options, the law, politics and so on. Even within a single region or province, however, it was impossible to categorize precisely under one heading the opinions of the young. Our purpose is only to define general tendencies in the collage of overlapping themes which makes up youth opinion across Canada.

Newfoundland

Specific Demands, Desires and Suggestions

Perhaps most striking in interviews with Newfoundland youth was that their specific demands were directed primarily towards the federal government. They expected less of Newfoundland and municipal authorities in terms of capacity, ability or desire to change.

Young persons wanted the federal government to take part in the formulation of educational philosophy and policy across Canada. In most cases, the reason for this suggestion lay in the depressed Newfoundland economy. Many youth who could not find jobs locally felt their education was not good enough for them to compete successfully in the central Canadian job market. For a similar reason, they wanted the federal government to put more money into its student loan programme and change the methods of selecting recipients. They argued that the present system was unjust because it did not take into consideration the real economic situation of the student or his family.

Young Newfoundlanders also showed a desire to broaden both the traditional concept of education and the view of how school facilities should be used. In the case of the former, they asked Ottawa for encouragement in pursuing educational activities and projects outside the classroom: these included the creation of a more broadly based travel and exchange programme as well as educational conferences and workshops. They also felt that the federal government should give financial support to provincially administered physical education, leadership training and "cultural recreation" programmes.

School facilities, they felt, should be open after hours, on weekends and during the summer vacations. Youth and other community organizations often lack a place to meet or hold dances: the pad-

locked school was frequently the only suitable public building available. Again, they saw a role for the federal government in pressuring local and municipal officials to open up schools for additional uses.

As part of an expanded travel and exchange programme, young Newfoundlanders wanted the federal government to promote and build youth hostels across the province. A revision of the drug laws was requested, particularly in reference to the use of marijuana. The present legislation was claimed to be unjust because it gave criminal records to young persons involved in a harmless activity. More young Newfoundlanders felt there was "desperate need" for a well planned drug-education policy as well as drug clinics and drop-in centres where users could go for assistance and information. In the area of social services, they wanted the federal government to encourage and support the formation in each province of family counselling services. These, they pointed out, were minimal throughout the province.

In spite of their hopeful focus on the federal government, young Newfoundlanders also said they knew too little about federal government activities and the realities of the employment situation outside the province. In the depressed island economy which forced many young persons to leave in order to find work, this complaint reflected a serious problem. To increase the flow of information, some young Newfoundlanders suggested the formation in each province of a youth information and advice bureau. They seemed to have in mind a multi-purpose federally administered counselling bureau - one which would direct youth towards necessary social services, funding bodies, employment opportunities and appropriate recreational possibilities. A few even wanted the federal government to get the mass media to convey information useful to youth as well as to stimulate a social conscience and a desire for action among their more apathetic fellows.

Quite a few young Newfoundlanders were aware of the gross inequalities both within their province and between it and other provinces. To help remove what they saw as an injustice, they wanted the federal government to appoint field

workers who would work in areas designated as disadvantaged and in need of redevelopment. They would work with existing organizations as resource persons and catalysts as well as play a much needed supportive role with currently frustrated youth leaders. Another function for these resource persons would be to initiate training programmes and workshops for youth leaders.

To a few young persons, the programmes of the Department of Regional Economic Expansion provided a useful model for aid to certain areas of Newfoundland although they were often highly critical of the present resettlement programme in the province. They maintained there should be greater emphasis on community development. Human resources, they argued, deserved as much attention as physical facilities. They lauded the activities of Memorial University's Extension Services Department as an example of such community work.

In Newfoundland, then, young persons were making demands for a solution to problems arising out of local situations. These recommendations, however, were often far-reaching in their implications. They wanted a vast improvement in the availability of relevant information, greater aid in seeking employment and an expanded federal involvement in education to rectify the weakness of the provincial system. At the same time, they asked for a dramatic increase in the province's recreational options and a new emphasis on a broader form of community development.

General Perspectives

Young Newfoundlanders believe their academic programmes are archaic. Equally frustrating is the system of assessing a student's knowledge by final examinations. Students have little hope of seeing a more flexible and comprehensive school system established. As one youth phrased it, "it has often been promised to us, and the promises have always been forgotten from one year to the next."

Students condemn the teaching body for its incompetence, its lack of professional interest, its lack of courage and imagination. They complain that teachers "cram students' heads" with information programmed according to a standard blueprint. The teachers do not trust students with responsibility and, even when they occasionally do, school management, supported by teachers, continues to manipulate the student. Nevertheless, even the young people admit that teachers have to contend with apathy and conservatism on the part of students.

When students have asked for several concrete improvements such as adequate field trips, specialists and more audio-visual equipment they received no response from school authorities. School buildings and equipment are generally

unavailable once the school's official schedule is finished.

In technical schools, many students are convinced of the uselessness of training programmes which do nothing more than produce unemployed graduates. University they feel, is only a "glorified high school".

The depressed economic situation of Newfoundland offers little hope for improved job prospects in the labour force. Seasonal employment and lack of effective unions contribute to a low standard of living. Trapped in this economic dead end, young Newfoundlanders despair of finding a job locally. Although many feel their education and lack of sophistication poorly prepares them for competition in the job markets of central Canada, they nevertheless head for the mainland; those who stay continue to dream of leaving.

There are few opportunities to escape from this economic reality into satisfying recreational activities. Newfoundland's recreational situation suffers from a general lack of equipment and financial resources, chauvinistic rivalries between villages, the absence of technical know-how, the refusal of adults to co-operate, a shortage of leaders, hard-to-meet prices for the few existing services and the economic exploitation of youth by restaurant owners.

Young people try to organize dances, using all their resources to find a hall. Nevertheless, as one young Newfoundlander said, "the only exciting thing that happens around here are the fights at the teen dances." Young people are idle in spite of themselves, recognizing and acknowledging their inability to break the vicious circle.

At the same time, adult society in Newfoundland shares an Anglo-Saxon heritage wracked by old religious animosities between Protestants and Catholics. The persistence of these factors has handicapped the development of cultural forces.

Only recently have the young people begun to free themselves from traditional restraints. These beginnings of a breakthrough have not yet materialized in any significant cultural activity.

Although most young persons are anxious to get off the Island, they are rather indifferent about their destination. They prefer a metropolitan centre, usually Toronto or Vancouver. As an afterthought they sometimes express the hope of finding reception centres in those localities because they have some limited knowledge of the problems of relocation.

The use of drugs has just started in the province and is primarily limited to hashish and marijuana. A more serious problem than drugs at present is the consumption of alcohol. It provides both a pastime and a psychological refuge for the acute feeling of helplessness and isolation - a major factor contributing to the maintenance of a general climate of apathy and indifference.

In this environment everyone agrees that social action is necessary and urgent but generating such action is proving difficult and frustrating. The disturbing symptoms of this situation are the area's inability to produce its own leaders, its reluctance to accept local leadership when it does appear, the collective feeling of dependence on external forces, and the virtual refusal of outside help when it is offered.

There is a paucity of social institutions to effect change. Young Newfoundlanders - with real needs and occasionally valid solutions - can turn to no one who will express these needs or support their efforts. Rigidity in the educational system, parochial conflicts, religious animosities and the lack of effective community development projects and social workers all combine to limit the potential for the involvement of Newfoundland's youth in social development. Provincial and municipal agencies do not have the money to provide the physical facilities and staff necessary to begin the process of change.

The economy cannot provide enough jobs for young persons entering the labour market. The more enterprising youth leave, thereby draining the province of one catalyst of change. The will of Newfoundlanders to work change at home is minimal. As they look to the federal government for both money and advice, the ethos of the province for young and old becomes increasingly characterized by a sense of inferiority and dependence.

Prince Edward Island

Specific Demands, Desires and Suggestions

Youth in Prince Edward Island stressed education and the use of school facilities in their suggestions to the Committee. Their emphasis, however was less vocal than that of Newfoundland.

Reference to a federal role in education was limited to a demand for more loans and bursaries for university education. Although secondary students expressed concern about curricula and disciplinary regulations, for the most part they were more interested in using the school facilities for extra-curricular activities. In particular, they were anxious to have the school gymnasiums made available for weekend dances. This complaint, however, was only a part of an over-all demand that adults give more help and encouragement in a whole range of activities.

Activities specifically directed towards youth was one area where the youth felt adults had not offered co-operation or even encouragement. Partly as a response to this failure, they hoped the federal government would appoint youth workers - no older than 35 - to perform an educative function for youth in the province. Weekend conferences were suggested to explore the youth scene and intensify young Islanders' social and political orientations. These might in effect, constitute leadership training. The money for them would come from the federal government.

Additional recreational activities were also requested by Island youth. To a few the programme of the Boys' Club in Summerside provided a useful model. These young persons wanted the federal government to study its approaches and facilities, provide the Boys' Club with more money and establish similar organizations throughout the province. Such action would benefit immensely the now ignored lower economic segment of the young. Although all recreational activities would need adult support and encouragement, the control should be the responsibility of the young persons themselves.

Young Prince Edward Islanders perceived that their province's economy could not provide jobs for a large proportion of them. Because they saw a move to central Canada as an imperative sometime in their future, they expressed concern about their ignorance of employment opportunities and living conditions in the rest of Canada. Youth workers experienced this anxiety most keenly. A few felt the services provided by the Young Christian Workers in Charlottetown constituted a useful model for federal government activity in this area.

Young Prince Edward Islanders wanted more information on social, economic and political issues as well as efforts at bridging the lack of communication between young and old. In contrast to youth in Ontario and Quebec, the young were more willing to work within existing organizations. In a few instances, they asked for federal support of such voluntary organizations. Some of the young emphasized the good work done by the Young Christian Workers in providing information about mainland job opportunities and living conditions. Existing institutions, it appears, are in little jeopardy at the present time.

General Perspectives

Although not completely contented, young Islanders are not despondent about their contacts with the major institutions in Prince Edward Island society.

The educational system, which they feel will not ensure them jobs locally after graduation, does not provoke bitter attacks. In spite of criticisms about irrelevant courses, insufficiently trained teachers, and antiquated teaching methods, pre-university students continue to express a degree of satisfaction. Students, teachers and some administrators want to strengthen mutual confidence and promote change, student participation and new teaching methods.

At the Island's new university, the students felt that the university was a second-rate institution offering second-rate degrees. This attitude seems likely to become more prevalent, in view of the lack of employment on the Island for graduates.

Students claim that they do not have sufficient resources to organize a strong, centralized students' organization to present their collective demands. Moreover, students suspect the existence of a well-entrenched and powerful educational "establishment" yet hesitate to organize for a struggle against it.

Many young workers expressed concern that, in a province of marked seasonal fluctuations, the labour market, already difficult for adults, is even more difficult for young people. Adults cling to jobs with a fierce tenacity while employers frequently succeed in circumventing minimum wage legislation. If one worker does not accept the employer's conditions, the employer can easily find another who will.

The alternatives to holding a job are accepting government support or going to the mainland. This is the main topic for students and young workers alike. Unfortunately, the difficulty of finding work in the large urban centres is becoming just as great and many Islanders eventually return with nothing but the prestige of "having seen Toronto". Once home again, their version of what it was like differs enough from the real experience for the mystique of the mainland to be perpetuated among the others.

The paucity of recreational options provides no escape from the grim economic realities. Recreation is the joint

responsibility of the provincial departments of Education and Agriculture. In spite of the provincial government's willingness and efforts to develop recreational services, most young people have little knowledge of their existence. Those who do regard these services as bureaucratic, condescending, self-important and hampered by conflicting interests. Although the provincial government has made some success in providing assistance to young workers, youth groups have had major difficulties in receiving assistance.

For the majority of young people, their range of leisure activities is limited to a Saturday night dance, the occasional movie, a quiet beer and television. Young people are too conscious of their own disunity, their alienation from the adult community, and their lack of leadership to organize themselves to improve the situation.

Charlottetown's Centennial Art Centre provides an accurate indication of the state of development of the Island's cultural life. During the tourist off-season, despite a local theatre group, it does not actively generate cultural and artistic activities. Whenever the Art Centre, a hotel or a cinema offers a new programme, the young people are the first to show an interest in the event; this only happens occasionally.

The population in general, including many young people, preserves its folklore heritage of songs and dances with a certain vigour. However, there is a lack of facilities, equipment and leaders which might make some other means of expression available to young people.

The federal government's numerous financial contributions aimed at reducing the cost of ferries to the mainland seem to have lessened the sense of isolation of many Islanders. Although the mainland coastal region is more accessible, the real motivation, as in Newfoundland, is the necessity of leaving the Island for economic reasons.

Curiosity about drugs was expressed by the Island youth. However, actual use occurs primarily in student circles, and services are almost non-existent.

The strongly rural character of the Island and the type of social order have done much to stifle the desire for change among adults and youth. Most believe federal equalization payments are the major problem-solvers. As a result, the desire to change or catch-up diminishes. The prospect of a social insurance scheme, as opposed to a participatory development policy, seems to have seriously weakened initiative and self-confidence.

Most young persons know little of the government's Public Participation and Involvement agency. Those who are aware of it consider it ineffective, poorly organized, isolated from the public, and under-equipped.

Prince Edward Island lacks the social institutions which usually support youthful innovation and assist in facilitating change. As a result, most Island youth have little help in articulating their needs, or if they can come up with new ideas, little support in their attempts to implement them. The educational system is too rigid to encourage youth leadership. Education is remedial, not stimulating; there is no other institution to fill this gap. As a result, the young lack leaders with the capacity to organize effectively. The rural environment with its hierarchical social structure does not encourage either youthful initiative or social change.

Indeed, young persons often described themselves as "second-class citizens" and spoke wistfully of the lack of adult encouragement and recognition. In this lack of adult recognition lay the reality behind the obstacles to a youth development programme. In relation to richer regions, Islanders themselves seem to feel both subservient and dependent. The Island's chronically ill economy reinforces the social status quo.

All Islanders, particularly the youth, appreciate the seriousness of unemployment. It throws their educational system into doubt. Unable to find jobs on the Island, many young persons blame the schools. If they fail in central Canada, they will compare in an unfavourable light their own educational system with others in central Canada. Of course, most who leave do not return. Often, as in Newfoundland, these are the most competent youth, the ones who ultimately might be able to create the required forces for social change in the province.

New Brunswick

Specific Demands, Desires and Suggestions

New Brunswick youth wanted the federal government to play a far larger role in the educational field. Many young persons perceived the inevitability of a move in order to find a job. They were concerned

with the quality of the New Brunswick education system. Some recommended the abolition of provincial responsibility for education or, at least, federal government co-ordination in the use of textbooks and curricula to give greater uniformity across Canada.

In the recreational field, they desired more extensive federal involvement. Although youth were pleased with the new role of the federal Department of Health and Welfare in helping organize Olympic teams and Summer Games, they demanded more uniform requirements for both provincial and federal competitions.

Recreation councils, with a focus on more unstructured activities, were also beginning to appear in the province. But the young complained that the provincial Youth Department supported these with a meagre $200 loan. Youth were highly critical of the department and wanted federal government support for less traditional, more experimental forms of recreation.

The discussion of drugs was more evident in New Brunswick than in either Newfoundland or Prince Edward Island. The young reported a real need for drug treatment and drop-in centres and wanted some level of government to play a supportive role. Specifically, they preferred a policy which would put resource persons into local communities. Their function would be to help youth groups set up such centres and promote other essential youth programmes.

Young New Brunswickers also expressed a few reservations about federal involvement. They were fearful of entanglements in red tape and remote decisions by bureaucrats in Ottawa. The more sophisticated suggested the creation of regional co-ordinators to prevent duplication of programmes within the province. They emphasized that they and others involved at the local level in such programmes must be free to give on-the-spot direction and assistance to those needing it. This demand for more youth control of youth activities characterized young persons' views across Canada.

There were many other areas in which New Brunswick youth showed a definite interest. Some young Acadians were very adamant about the need for youth services which would encourage their own cultural activities and preserve them from assimilation. In this area, many, both English-speaking and French-speaking, wanted the federal government or some public agency to support coffee houses. Like other Atlantic youth, they demanded more sensitive employment services. Specifically, such services would include the provision of information about the actual job situation in central Canada.

Perhaps because of New Brunswick's parochial and religious rivalries, the province's youth emphasized the need for co-ordination of all youth services. They requested financial and technical support from the federal government for a whole range of activities. These requests sprang from a more general, but deeply felt reaction to the multiplicity of institutions in the province with which they had to deal every day.

General Perspectives

New Brunswick students criticized and expressed the need for changes in the school system. More specifically, they demanded a review of administrative standards, new policies in the teaching profession, stricter standards in teacher training programmes and establishment of new channels for student participation.

A lack of firmness and stability is perceived in the behaviour of principals, teachers, educators and students themselves. The administrators look for answers, whereas the teachers, most of them not well trained or well prepared, are reluctant to experiment. Programmes develop slowly; the students try one thing after another without much success. Meanwhile, discontent strengthens its hold as students dream of leaving the province to look for better training elsewhere.

None of the parties can generate a form of leadership capable of re-energizing the school system prior to instituting the reforms which all recognize as urgently needed. Perhaps the gravest social consequence of the confusion is the deterioration of the school system as an instrument for positive socialization. Increasingly, it produces drop-outs and apathetic endurers of the educational status quo.

Even if young New Brunswickers complete their education they have no guarantee of finding a job in the province. When jobs are available, young people accuse employers of duplicity to avoid paying the minimum wage.

Canada Manpower Centres come under strong attack. The young feel they are staffed by incompetent counsellors prejudiced against youth. If a young person has long hair and no tie, the chances for success diminish even more. Since the Manpower centres are one of youth's few contacts with government, their image and ineffectiveness cast a skeptical shadow over the entire federal government.

The youth of New Brunswick have little alternative but to leave for Toronto or Vancouver in search of work. Even the French-speaking youth often go to English-speaking Canada, perhaps because Quebec's economic climate is not reassuring.

In the field of recreation, government-level planning, backed up by a budget and action fulfils some of their demands. Rural schools are open after hours, drop-in centres have been organized, and funds allocated to provide leadership training courses.

Many young people believe the Youth Department operates in an authoritarian and paternalistic manner. Handicapped by insufficient funds, by the absence of young people within its ranks and by a number of prejudices about youth participation, it is often ineffective.

Even though New Brunswick has the most statistically balanced population in terms of French and English-speaking persons, there is no bicultural balance. As the French-speaking community moves further away from the sphere of religious influence, its interest in maintaining its cultural heritage is perceived as being threatened. Moreover, division between a weakened desire to preserve its culture and an attraction for certain aspects of the Anglo-Saxon culture is destroying its cohesion; the result may be the loss of its cultural heritage.

Economic stagnation and the lack of recreational or vital cultural opportunities makes travel attractive to young New Brunswickers. Like the young people of the other Atlantic provinces, however, most leave to find employment.

The use of soft drugs is widespread enough to be an everyday reality. There is no significant difference in attitude between English-speaking and French-speaking youth on the use of drugs. Both use drugs to challenge conventional mores and be part of an urban fashion remote from the New Brunswick reality.

The future prospects for social action in the province are far from good. This alienation of youth from the community often stimulates deliberate resistance by young people to participation in provincial or local development.

Even those young persons who want to take part in community development find they cannot get financial or community support. Services, specifically directed towards youth, do not offer youth the opportunity to control their own activities and experiment in a relatively unstructured environment. Certainly a minority of young New Brunswickers knows what it wants. With little support, however, from the provincial government, they turn to Ottawa rather than create their own programmes. Of course, they often have no other choice. In looking to the federal government, they are following the example of their parents - one characterized by a resentment of their own sense of dependence on central Canada.

Nova Scotia

Specific Demands, Desires and Suggestions

Nova Scotia youth looked to the federal government for assistance in a wide range of activities. However, even more intense than in New Brunswick were their doubts about Ottawa's past record in relation to the Atlantic provinces.

In spite of their suspicions, many young Nova Scotians saw a role for the federal government in the educational field. As in the other Atlantic provinces, they wanted Ottawa to set national standards. Many felt that such uniformity would offset the parochialism and economic disadvantages of the province. They also wanted the federal government to change the repayment requirements for student loans to benefit young members of poorer families. Both English and French-speaking students wanted school curricula to be more relevant to everyday life. Students also asked for training programmes not usually provided in schools. Leaders among the young emphasized their own need for "better training". These requests converged in a demand for a broadly-based leadership training programme at the provincial level with the federal government establishing the curricula and providing funds.

Many young Nova Scotians asked that the federal government form some agency to provide information and leadership for the development of leisure-time activities including travel. They felt that the federal government's existing travel and exchange programme should last longer so that youth could understand their new environments more fully. They also demanded a change in procedures for the selection of young travellers. For the travelling majority

without federal sponsorship, they saw Ottawa assuming the leadership in the establishment of hostels in co-operation with other levels of government.

Young Nova Scotians also hoped the federal government would involve itself in other essential services. One response requested a national programme of education for parents to help them cope with social change and the strains it placed on relationships between adults and youth. Many wanted governments to provide accommodation and counselling for young persons who had left home because of conflict within the family.

An increasing number of young Nova Scotians were taking part in social-action programmes, dealing with everything from tenants' rights to civil liberties. This group hoped the federal government would support such citizens' groups financially, particularly if their function was worthwhile and young people participated. The few who knew about the Nova Scotia Youth Agency praised its activities and pointed out that it lacked funds and suggested the federal government provide assistance. The Agency's most admired feature was its lack of bureaucracy in its approach to social problems.

In all such social-action programmes, major concern was stressed about federal financial involvement. In the past, infusions of money had produced a sense of dependency within the community they were intended to serve. When the flow of money ended, often the project did too. The concern expressed was the importance of ensuring that the local community had the leadership resources and desire to take over and maintain useful projects.

Unfortunately, all these innovations will not erase Nova Scotia's major ill - its depressed economy. It cannot provide jobs for all its young people and as a result many must leave. Even those who stay often must accept menial jobs. Of course, many students are unable to find summer employment. In easing the difficulties of finding a job, the major agency is Manpower. Most young persons are unrelentingly critical of the inefficiency, red tape and dehumanization encountered when they approach the centres. As an alternative, a few suggested a Youth Manpower Programme should operate year around but concentrate on summer employment. In addition, it would also provide information on employment opportunities and living conditions in other parts of Canada.

If young Nova Scotians looked to the federal government for various services, they were also critical of its past performance. The more politically sophisticated among them documented the welter of unrelated social services sponsored by the Department of National Health and Welfare. Future federal programmes, they felt, should be carefully co-ordinated.

General Perspectives

In Nova Scotia, then, young persons criticized existing government policies but were more vocal in demanding specific changes. For example, the continuing breakdown of the school environment as the principal instrument of socialization is strongly evident. The young refer to teachers as "second-rate professionals", and obstacles to valid teaching programmes as a "horse and and buggy mentality in a jet-age world". Dissatisfaction can also be seen in the high drop-out rate. Young people show less interest in school certificates; they feel it is not worth going to school just to obtain a diploma. Students are becoming indifferent to courses at technical and vocational schools. They believe these courses train candidates for non-existent jobs.

Young Acadians, equally dissatisfied, point in frustration to the fact that only about half as many Acadians attend university as English-speaking youth. They also state, quite justifiably, that the school system has done nothing to combat their assimilation by Anglo-Saxon culture. If anything, it has encouraged assimilation.

The changing recreational scene in the province offers few options. In the past, community, town and city life gravitated around the church. However, young people are increasingly freeing themselves from the church's influence and authority and turning towards new centres of interest, pastimes and recre ational facilities.

The inability of the government, economically strapped, to provide recreational buildings, facilities, and directors has aroused much criticism among young people. Although the Youth Agency has a highly qualified staff for its role of encouraging participation, it has managed to reach only the most enterprising youth because it also lacks funds. In any event, the majority of young Nova Scotians are unaware of the existence of the Youth Agency.

The few traditional youth organizations fail to interest young people because of their conservative nature and predominance of adults. Youth resent the fact that school facilities are not open for recreational activities. They claim that their own leisure activities are limited to a game of billiards if they have the money, perhaps a dance on Saturday, or a stroll up and down the main street.

Young transients travelling out of the province hope to find drop-in centres, medical services and hostels which are either inexpensive or free. While Nova Scotia does not have to face a great influx of transient youth, Halifax does receive many and is poorly equipped to accommodate them.

In the Acadian communities the young people are only beginning to free themselves from traditional religious authority. Their assertion of independence involves a rejection of anything associated with religion including the safe-guarding and enriching of their cultural heritage. Thus, young Acadians tend to adopt the attitudes of their English-speaking counterparts, but are not as activist in orientation.

Young Nova Scotians remain interested in political and social action, particularly in the area of community development. Implementation of their ideas is minimal since they claim adults refuse to co-operate with them, and respond to their ideas with indifference, paternalism, conservatism and even hostility.

The climate of bitterness, apathy and dejection results not only from adult rejection. Young people lack the necessary resolution and self-confidence to put their social action projects into practice without adult co-operation. School, government and educators have done nothing to encourage the self-confidence of youth; there is no serious programme to help them develop their leadership talents. The need to support and encourage young Nova Scotians' efforts to develop their own leadership and contribution to social action is great - even urgent. The necessary goodwill is already there; it requires an intelligent adult response.

In summary, services seem to be emerging which may satisfy some of the needs of Nova Scotian youth, particularly in the area of community development. Although youth are critical and suspicious of the federal government, they seem willing to utilize its services to further their interests and those of their communities. Increasingly, through both education and action, inroads are being made in changing the structure of the Nova Scotian community.

Unfortunately, even a radical transformation of social institutions cannot solve the basic economic problem. Although more industrialized and urbanized than other Atlantic provinces, Nova Scotia's economy is weak. It cannot produce enough jobs to keep the young at home. Many leave for major urban centres and frequently find only disappointment; those who stay in the province face unemployment or unsatisfying work at low wages. Like the other Atlantic provinces, social change cannot succeed in Nova Scotia without some infusion of strength into the economy.

The Atlantic Region: General Perspectives

The basic preoccupation of youth in the Atlantic provinces is employment. It is reflected in most other questions raised by young persons in the Maritime region. However, it is not the problem of employment alone which shapes their thoughts on many other issues. It is its corollary. The economic frailty of the Atlantic region means the young must find jobs away from their own communities, if they are to find them at all. Many would prefer to stay.

The reality of the region's weak economy makes forced migration a lingering but powerful concern of Atlantic youth. Ironically, this necessity falls most heavily on young persons least able to compete in central Canada - those with only a secondary-school education and no training in a specific skill or craft.

Even though this economic situation colours the reality of Atlantic youth, they express needs similar to their more affluent counterparts in central Canada or British Columbia. For example, they demand youth hostels, drug-treatment centres, drop-in centres, free medical clinics, and so on. However, the Atlantic region differs from more affluent areas in that there is less chance for the young to realize these goals.

The major reason for this inability is the lack of adult and community support for youth's efforts. Often the young do not even know where to begin in order to implement their demands. That vital intermediary range of services which help the young define their needs and implement their ideas remains narrowly defined on an intellectual level, constrained financially and hindered by a general disinterest in youth concerns throughout the region.

In these circumstances, a major demand of the young was for the leadership of persons their own age, persons they could trust. Such would occur if

there was a certain level of co-operation and encouragement by adults of young persons to engage in activities meaningful to them. If this existed, it seemed to the Committee that the youthful response would benefit not only youth itself but the Atlantic community as a whole. Young persons in the Maritime region were more concerned with their own communities and the role they could play in their survival than youth in any other region across Canada with the possible exception of Quebec.

Many young persons expressed concern about their education as it related to the development of their communities and their own chances of getting a job. Specifically, they wanted the federal government to create national standards in the educational field. Such a demand is comprehensible for it is the young from this region who must emigrate to large metropolitan areas and compete for jobs with the graduates of educational systems which are perceived as having higher quality. Transferability of degrees poses similar problems. Newfoundland youth, in particular, complained that their education prepared them for no job within the province. To provide at least a partial preparation for emigration they demanded comprehensive information about educational and employment opportunities in the rest of Canada. This pattern of need and request was evident throughout the Maritimes.

Not surprisingly, many youth in the Atlantic region resist the economically induced imperative to migrate from familiar environments. In urban areas, many searched for ways to participate usefully in their communities: a few met with some success.

Consistently, youth experienced disappointment and a gnawing sense of worthlessness as they failed in their attempts to effect change in their communities, to win adult encouragement or co-operation or to postpone the inevitable move to a more properous region. If disillusioned with their own lack of community support, they were openly hostile to outsiders. In a sense, this last response was a positive sign. It was an indication of an increasing readiness to develop their own region and to deny the dominance of central Canada. More and more, they refused leadership from everyone who lacked sympathy for or understanding of their own communities. Such attitudes were the first step towards a form of social and economic development consistent with the interests of the Atlantic provinces.

Quebec

Specific Demands, Desires and Suggestions

Perhaps the most immediate difference between Quebec and Atlantic youth is the focus of their expectations. Atlantic youth looked to the federal government for help and as a vehicle for both community change and ease of mobility. Young Quebecois expected action from the provincial government. Their demands were also more specific, intense and resonant with implication.

Quebec youth demonstrated more activity in the area of experimental living styles than their Atlantic counterparts. On these points there is commonalty in expression; the difference is the intensity and range of activity. Such experiments often generated specific needs. Communes and co-operatives were also far more popular among young Quebecois than among youth in the Atlantic provinces. These experiments often shocked the sensibilities of local communities and landlords with predictable results. For this reason, participants in such experiments and their many supporters demanded legislative protection. They wanted to prevent the revoking of land-sales to communes because of local community pressure. In urban areas, they also wanted to place obstacles in the way of landlords' breaking of leases with co-operatives. Another request was that loans now available to individuals be extended to both forms of communal experimentation.

Some young workers have created a variant on these communal schemes. *Les Maisons du Chômeur,* set up by unemployed young workers in Montreal, Trois-Rivières and Quebec City is a co-operative project which provides manpower, community services, and so on. However, they believe more money would make such projects far more useful both to those involved and the community at large. They demand public financial support for those goals.

The continual flow of semi-skilled young workers from rural to urban areas to find work has created another widespread need. Many young persons, even those not immediately involved, pointed to the culture-shock experienced by such young workers. They demanded money to create temporary residences and provide counselling for these rural youth until they get settled in the unfamiliar and complex urban areas.

However, even when they know the city, young workers often experience difficulties. They lack knowledge of a whole host of conditions which surround their jobs. Because of this need, a large number of young workers suggested information campaigns and special counselling services to help them learn about such things as the minimum-wage laws, how to ensure they received a minimum wage, what to expect from the Manpower Mobility Programmes and how to set up a legal union. Even when they belonged to unions, they complained about a lack of concern for their interests by older union members. However, due to a high number of non-unionized young workers, many of them wanted more support in terms of training so that they would be able to fight for their rights without the unions.

There was another area in which young workers encountered difficulties. Many said they needed a broad consumer counselling programme to tell them about deceptive advertising, high-pressure salesmanship, credit-financing and so on. Youth, in general, shared this need which struck hardest at young workers.

Both students and young workers expressed concern about drugs. They could see no reason beyond a desire to repress the young for the strong laws against the use of soft drugs. These, they felt, should be abolished. They also saw a need for drop-in and drug-treatment centres.

Students and young workers said they enjoyed travelling in the province, but often found it too expensive. These young travellers demanded the creation of youth hostels throughout Quebec.

Each hostel would be autonomous, financed by government, run by young persons and would provide a free bed at the very least; financial support would come in some form, from the state.

Other young Quebecois looked beyond their own needs to those of their local communities. For example, one group of young persons suggested the creation of day-care centres. They saw the most serious need for such centres among young married couples where both wife and husband work.

In reference to the drug scene, many young francophone Montrealers argued also the French community was far more poorly served by crisis intervention centres than its anglophone counterpart. They demanded that this be rectified.

These represent only a few of the suggestions made by young Quebecois. Ultimately, they suggested, the emergence

of a local leadership was the only solution to both the problems of the young and the communities in which they lived. To this end, young persons and members of local communities suggested the allocation of public funds and training resources to assist the development of skilled, effective community leaders. The proponents of this view recognized that many worthwhile community projects were handicapped by too few staff, poor leadership, and a lack of financial resources. Not only did a large part of the community recognize this need, but a variety of associations, private bodies and social welfare councils articulated it forcefully.

The young also made other far-reaching demands. After long recitals of the provincial educational system's ills, they demanded its complete re-definition and re-orientation. Specifically, they demanded a rationalization and co-ordination of economic, industrial and educational planning. The purpose of such a basic change would be a closer alignment of educational training to job requirements. In this process, both students and young workers asked for the creation of specific structures which would give them some control over the final plan. Consistent with this would be the setting up of structures at the local level to allow community participation in an integrated and co-ordinated effort at regional development. Finally, many young workers and students demanded the incorporation of youth rights into a Canadian (or Quebec) bill of rights.

General Perspectives

These far-reaching, intense and specific demands emerged from an interaction between young Quebecois and the institutions which surround them. Their opinions of these institutions reflect the turmoil of hope, confusion and despair which has been so much a part of the Quebec scene since the Quiet Revolution. If the Lesage government and a host of other factors combined to sweep away much of Quebec's traditional power structure, it also set in motion a new search for institutions which would embody the emerging identity of Quebec's French-speaking community. If, in the early seventies, the opinions of youth reflect the partial success of this search, they also reflect its partial failure.

For example, great confusion exists in the Quebec school environment. Quebec's educational structures, archaic prior to 1960, were hastily modified in an attempt to catch up with an increasingly industrial environment. Not only is this effort of modernization incomplete, but also, in the interim, society has developed new technical demands and economic problems which have left the school system behind.

In the early sixties, the Quebec government decided to devote its efforts and financial resources to a complete investigation and renovation of its backward school system. The recommendations of the Parent Commission were rapidly implemented at great expense.

The school system has adjusted to these new requirements to a limited extent. It introduced new administrative standards and new structures to meet the growing numbers of students, the evolution in their educational expectations, the deterioration of relations between students and administrators and the new cultural currents which are emerging. The system has had no more success than any other school system, perhaps much less, in winning the acceptance of young people. It has failed to produce a socializing environment which the young can accept.

Generally, young people consider the school system a discipline which society requires them to undergo before they enter the labour market. Students will show more interest in a course, a subject, or the educational process if they admire the personal qualities and professional competence of the teacher. More frequently students accuse teachers and school officials of being primarily occupied by union disputes and matters relating to their own interests to the detriment of professional ethics.

A very interesting trend is developing. A new school environment is attempting to become a life environment and to regain socializing power over students. Groups of drop-outs are forming in some CEGEP's. They refuse to separate themselves from the education system and continue to frequent the CEGEP's although not because they wish to attend classes. They simply want to go on living as students. Almost all the members of these communities spend their days establishing a way of life which parallels the academics. Though such communities are not directly responsible for restoring the school's importance as a life environment, they do play a part. The young, not education officials, are creating their own life environments.

In spite of the unrest in school circles and the severe criticisms made by students, these critics are not in a hurry to leave school and enter the labour market. Most of them wish to continue their studies at the university level, and are doing so in numbers exceeding the forecasts made by the Parent Commission. The system of higher education can hardly absorb the increased number of students, many of whom are forced to make do with the CEGEP's. The disappointment experienced by some students when they find themselves limited to the CEGEP's academic level contributes to the drop-out rate.

When faced with the distorted picture often presented in the mass media, youth complain that the media carry news which oversimplifies the picture of youth, and make use of young people's activities to fill headlines. They analyze this material from a narrow and rather conservative angle which gives their adult public an unfavourable image of youthful activities.

Experiments in public-interest and information programmes for young Quebecois have many failings and few redeeming features. The private networks continue to sensationalize youthful endeavours and treat serious subjects in a light vein.

Even though the underground press finds only a limited readership, college newspapers, student radio and particularly an experiment like the former *Quartier Latin* interest youth and provide what the conventional media omit.

There is a group of young people with a greater problem than media coverage. Close to half of the unemployed in Quebec are under 25.[1] Poor working conditions, high unemployment, lack of unions, and low salaries all help to discredit the idea of work. It becomes a form of degradation. Skilled and semi-skilled workers frequently find the situation hopeless. The vicious circle which traps the young worker includes lack of confidence, inability to react, apathy, compulsive buying (leading to subsequent trouble with the loan companies) and finally complete withdrawal from society.

The few young workers who have united to organize projects which might solve their problems have often met with refusals to co-operate. They become discouraged and return to the ranks of the powerless. Working-class youth share an attitude of deep distrust on which guilt and helplessness thrive.

The Quebec recreation scene presents a more hopeful perspective. In contrast to the Atlantic provinces, the probable reasons for this are higher rates of population and economic expansion, greater cultural dynamism, greater resources, and a more marked desire on the part of the government to develop a recreation policy.

The government has made a considerable effort to provide facilities for socio-cultural activities and sports, to ensure a semblance of organization, and to lend its financial support to the development of leisure pursuits. In order to implement its recreation policy, however, the government has had to struggle against a number of difficulties. As a result, it has partially failed, particularly in the policy of the Office of the High Commission for Youth, Recreation and Sports. The *Confederation des Loisirs Socio-culturels du Québec* (Quebec Federation of Socio-cultural Recreation Organizations) has not reached those young people who could have been an active force for innovation. Instead, it only reaches the traditional organizations.

The *Confédération des Sports du Québec* (Quebec Federation of Sports Organizations) is just beginning to attract people from outside the circle of fervent enthusiasts. However, these efforts are slow and painful because of administrative problems. In either commercialized or organized sports, the young show a prejudice against all types of competition or rivalry.

Private recreational organizations provide a reasonably wide and interesting choice including painting, cinema, music and theatre. The public in general, and the young in particular, are actively using these facilities.

The cultural reawakening in Quebec has prompted youth to discover and express their talents. This process of self-discovery has stimulated the desire to continue self-expression in other areas, including recreation. Leisure pursuits also instill the necessary self-pride not available through many other pursuits.

English-speaking youth show the same interests as Canadian youth as a whole - a fact which only emphasizes the distinctiveness of young francophones' interests. Their differences emerge most clearly in the cultural sphere. Young Quebecois want to maintain their cultural heritage and develop contemporary forms of expression which are French and peculiar to Quebec. The cultural, linguistic and social uniqueness of the province helps to stimulate this movement.

From 1960 to 1965, folk songs generated great enthusiasm. This movement brought with it the proliferation of coffee houses, the stimulation of creative activity, and the encouragement of initiative and some form of self-expression among many young Quebecois. The folk song may even have given French youth a sense of community spirit and an interest in politics which sets them more apart from preceding generations.

The nature of youthful enthusiasm for active artistic creation sets Quebec apart from the rest of Canada. Activities are developing at probably the fastest rate in the country. Quebec has approximately 200 permanent amateur theatre groups - one for every 30,000 people.

The government also tries to encourage artistic expression by building cultural centres and funding other private undertakings. These government initiatives, however, attract very little youth interest. They associate government endeavors with a certain conservatism and stereotyped idea of culture already rejected by youth. Government efforts also suffer from administrative slowness, inflexibility and, perhaps, an unconscious refusal to meet

1. See Chapter I.

youth on their own level and seek their co-operation.

This new cultural renaissance is also a function of Quebec society's opening up to stimuli from outside. Before Expo 67, the Quebec environment was more or less psychologically closed. This isolation went hand in hand with the small tourist trade and the limited travelling done by most Quebecois. Expo 67 made it possible for Quebec youth to experience young people with new values and different tastes. It aroused their curiosity about other environments and their interest in travel.

Immediately after Expo, l'*Office Franco-Québécois pour la Jeunesse* (France-Quebec Youth Bureau) gave approximately 2,000 Quebecois each year the opportunity to acquaint themselves with France. At the same time, hitch-hiking became more popular and Tourbec, the Quebec students unions' tourist agency, expanded. Tourbec and the France-Quebec Youth Bureau also encouraged tourists to Quebec to explore the province.

Young people have a growing interest in travelling throughout their own province, to know and understand it better. Few know however, about the federal government's poorly advertised Young Voyageur programme. The youth who do know consider its approach somewhat old-fashioned.

Many young Quebecois travel to the west coast of Canada, especially Vancouver. In spite of their often poor English, Quebec youth who hitch-hike there usually establish excellent relationships. Rural youth travel more within Quebec. Urban youth tend to visit large American cities along the east and west coasts, as well as Canadian cities.

The use of soft and hard drugs is very wide-spread among the youth of Quebec, in both French and English-speaking communities. Most of the consumption and distribution of drugs occurs around the schools and universities. However, drug use is becoming accepted among many other groups in Quebec society. Legalization of soft drugs at this time would only make the law consistent with what is already a fait accompli.

A critical view among youth of the police accompanies drug use. Although instances of police violence and repression are numerous in Quebec, young people are not as hostile to the police as might be expected. They have more important priorities as reflected in their demonstrations and demands. Police are not one of youth's major concerns.

In Quebec, the combination of increased political expression and the many channels open for involvement has created a climate of "continuous change". The result is a basic alteration of young Quebecois' psychological and emotional attitudes to their society. They still believe they can "change something". This belief shields them from an all-pervasive sense of frustration and disillusionment.

Social change is a major concern. The heavy population around a few urban centres, the liveliness of political debate and the immediacy and general relevance of issues raised have combined to make young Quebecois feel they can have a part in the development of their society. As a consequence, young people form the majority of those actively engaged in various social and cultural action projects. Some receive backing from labour union federations, student groups and professional associations.

For the last six to nine months, there has been a noticeable slackening in the normal development of social action programmes by large official organizations. The Company of Young Canadians experienced a series of setbacks, especially in Quebec. The *Action Sociale Jeunesse* (Youth Social Action Group), is at present awaiting a government decision on its integration. A wait-and-see attitude has prevailed since last summer.

At the present stage of development, the individual retains a feeling that he can be useful to the community. For this reason, the over-all mental outlook in Quebec seems healthy. A desire to act and change things for the better has become the dominant characteristic of the 15 to 25 age group.

In spite of the promise implicit in frequent efforts at community action and an emerging contemporary social and cultural identity, Quebec's frail economy fosters a certain pessimism. Unemployment, both in the short and the long term, seems a reality both depressing and powerful. No matter how encouraging developments seem in other areas, the reality of Quebec's economic situation is a continuing threat to all its citizens' aspirations, whether young or old.

With a floundering economy comes a host of other social problems. Community development programmes, the provision of necessary social services, improvements in education and all the other trends which began in the early sixties are the foundations of Quebecois' hopes. Many wish to pursue these activities in the desire to adapt their community to the realities of a highly technological society.

Their successes are limited since these endeavours usually lack the essential political, financial and technical support.

Economic weakness also makes it seem less likely that Quebec will be able to defend its linguistic and cultural heritage. However, the determination of many Quebecois to preserve their language and culture has added immeasurably to their sense of community. In a sense, this determination springs from the recognition that francophone Quebec is a community. In the present economic situation, in a society now shorn of the traditional preservers of its culture, awareness of linguistic and cultural uniqueness and a profound sense of community interact, mutually reinforcing each other in

the minds of Quebec's francophone community.

Ultimately, all these questions - the economic, the social, the linguistic and the cultural - surface in the political sphere. For many, solutions to these problems await the resolution of the debate between separatism and federalism. All these other questions, of course, make up the substance of this debate. Can development in all these areas occur most rapidly within a federal system? Or will they remain unsolved unless Quebec becomes an independent state?

Whatever the answer, the very fact that the questions are posed is an indication of a popular determination for Quebec to control its own development. The growing sense that Quebec is a community unique in North America makes outside control of this development unacceptable to many. The very existence of this sentiment points to an unprecedented level of political awareness and activism. In all these areas the young are the major participants.

When the Quiet Revolution dismantled the traditional sources of authority and opened a closed society, the aspirations of the young were raised. However, the ascendancy of more conservative governments after 1966 seemed to many young Quebecois to freeze the processes of change in the province. Their major goal now is to start their community moving again, to stimulate development in every area - immediately. Political change seems to them to be the first step in this direction. As time passes, without substantial change the impatience of the young will make them less careful about the cost of attaining their goals.

Ontario

Specific Demands, Desires and Suggestions

If Atlantic youth looked to the federal government for whatever help they could get and young Quebecois preferred action from Quebec City, Ontario youth look to both federal and provincial sources but demand that public aid be consistent with their desire to control their own activities. Their requests strongly reflected the influence of the values and styles of popular youth culture.

The concern that government aid meant government dominance emerged in the clear guidelines for public assistance set down by Ontario youth. They made it quite obvious that they felt local communities or groups should register or determine community needs. Such groups and communities would also sponsor the necessary programmes and ask for government resources only if necessary. These groups would administer the programmes and funds. A continuing review to ensure that sponsored activities remained relevant to community needs would be mandatory. Finally, to make certain the above occurred, they suggested the creation of countervailing institutions to perform these assessments and check "bureaucratic" excess.

Suggestions were made as to how the federal government should organize a "youth policy". Some complained about the general ignorance of federal programmes and suggested the appointment, to the Secretary of State, of persons with a knowledge of all federal programmes, services and funds available to young persons. These federal appointees would act as resource persons in local communities and serve as a communication link between them and the relevant federal agency. Some wanted to create interdepartmental committees and liaison officers who would review and co-ordinate federal programmes, policies and legislation affecting youth. They would also check priorities in this area.

Ontario youth also made specific suggestions in regard to a federal youth policy. Some wanted to encourage youthful enterprise. They hoped the federal government would make available "seed money" to set in motion such youth enterprises as underground presses, art galleries, handicraft shops, health food restaurants, and so on. The profits from these endeavours would go back into a central fund to back future projects of a similar nature.

Other young persons saw federal involvement in an area which might be described as social education. They proposed that the federal government fund resource centres where young persons could learn about, explore and relate to their own community environments. In such an unstructured learning environment, the young could also acquire new and worthwhile ways to utilize this environment. The programmes and structures of such centres would be determined by the size and needs of the local community. Ultimately, these centres could possibly create youth leaders for social-action projects within the communities.

Ontario youth expressed many criticisms of Canada Manpower Centres. Many suggested that the government create a specific youth section in Manpower staffed with personnel sympathetic to the needs and problems of young persons seeking a job.

Ontario youth also wanted the federal government to fund and support the operation of recreation, drop-in, crisis intervention, drug-treatment and health centres as well as youth hostels and youth information bureaux. Staffed and operated by young persons, the major purpose of such centres would be to serve youth. In the case of youth hostels, young persons asked that the federal government establish them in federal buildings across

Canada, particularly along the Trans-Canada Highway, but ensure they charge only a nominal fee. A more subsidiary demand was for the financial backing of community athletic and artistic facilities and activities which would maximize, rather than minimize, community participation.

A large minority of young persons looked beyond services specifically directed towards youth. Some of these suggested the federal government finance full-time day-care centres for working mothers and ensure that these centres had competent staff and facilities as well as enough money to provide free meals. Others expressed a concern about community development. To widen the base of such activity and accelerate its impact, they demanded a more active and expansive role for the Company of Young Canadians or voluntary organizations. If neither of these proposals were feasible, they suggested the federal government set up a new agency to perform this function.

If the demands of Ontario youth lack the political intensity associated with those of young Quebecois, they are equally far-reaching in other ways. For example they were acutely conscious of the problems created by government dominance of youth and community programmes. Like Quebec and Atlantic youth, they demanded the legalization of soft drugs. Their suggestions about experiments in social education pointed to a profound disillusionment with the educational system. They also seem more reformist in orientation than young Quebecois, particularly when they suggest courses in community relations for RCMP.

General Perspectives

Since Ontario is the most highly urbanized and industrialized province, its youth are likely more aware of the problems associated with a technological society. In this affluent province the ethos is closer to that of the most technological of societies, the United States. There is also no linguistic barrier to American influence as in Quebec. At the same time, people in Ontario, often proudly, seem to view their province as Canada. This strange ambience is reflected not only in the specific demands of Ontario youth,

but also in their general attitudes towards the major institutions which impinge upon their lives.

In the public high schools, students repeatedly stressed the irrelevance of current curricula which make no attempt to deal with those realities which concern them. They also criticize the teaching methods where they learn prescribed material by rote. The major recommendations of the Hall-Dennis Report (including open school plans, selection of curriculum, student inputs into the learning process) have been implemented mainly at the primary school level. High-school students warn of the inevitable conflict when the next generation reaches the still-authoritarian high schools.

Authoritarianism and regimentation prevent students from participation in meaningful decision-making or planning. Student councils play no significant role, and most student newspapers are strictly censored.

Students feel that most current material could be covered in less than 12 or 13 years. They also suggest the replacement of summer breaks by a pattern of study interspersed with work and/or leisure.

Francophone students in bilingual high schools say the bilingual education experiment is not working. Students take technical training in English as much as possible because they have to improve their job possibilities in Ontario. Most of the material related to North American technology is printed only in English.

At the colleges of applied arts and technology, students complain about the lack of job matching and blame this partially on poor economic planning by the federal government. In addition to being trained for jobs which do not exist, they face a general shortage of jobs for which they must compete with B.A.'s or B.SC.'s. They complain that credits from community colleges are not transferable to universities. They stress also the narrow possibilities especially for those whose economic and familial environment has instilled a low level of expectation - aggravated by streaming into technical programmes at high schools and then terminal programmes at community colleges.

In terms of the persistent argument about relative merits of academic versus technical education, the latter carry the stigma of "double failure". The only way to break this pattern has been the creation of easily accessible retraining schemes. Although students who take Manpower courses are frustrated by bureaucratic rules, they are generally not as unhappy as most - probably because of better job matching.

Students outside the public school system generally express more satisfaction with their education. In "free schools" such as Seed, questions arise about whether this type of experience is best classified as education. What they are attempting extends far beyond the tradi-

tional concept of education in both purpose and method of learning. The imposition of some restrictions occurs because these courses are still tied to the provincial education system.

Among university students, the question of participation in the decision-making processes remains an issue. Students have a new sense of national identity and voice demands about course content and Canadian/foreign staff ratios.

Students generally realize even a Ph.D. no longer ensures security. They are equally skeptical about the ability of a liberal arts education to produce "the whole man". The youth population, because they have caught glimpses of alternatives, actively express dissatisfaction with the education system.

Since education offers no road to job security, Ontario youth look to the government to improve the employment situation. Those who come from elsewhere in Canada are particularly frustrated when they find fewer jobs than expected. University students on the other hand express concern about the shortage of summer jobs. High-school students, now with little hope of finding vacation employment, look forward to summer-long projects such as those offered by Frontier College, Junior Forest Rangers or pollution control programmes. Those within the hip or drug culture look to the innovative services for available jobs in terms with which they can cope and in which they can be accepted.

Youth in Ontario are highly critical of the work ethic, yet they do not reject the opportunity to earn. They are also aware that although their money is sought as consumers, their services and opinions are not. These circumstances add to their sense of powerlessness and apathy.

If young persons lacked jobs, they also claimed that they lacked recreational options. Where there are no standard facilities, both youth and adults decry the situation; where such facilities are available adults feel they have solved the problem, but youth feel there is still "nothing to do". Many claim to care little about organized physical activities, especially highly structured competitive athletics.

The altered concept of recreation, based on the supportive role which peer groups play with respect to their members, has produced the drop-in centre where assistance and recreation have fused. Linked with these drop-in centres are other innovative services such as medical and legal aid.

In addition to drop-in centres, youth requested support for summer camps and city and country communes to be run by and for youth who would structure their own time and resources within them.

If, in most cases, the traditional structured recreation must be funded and supported by adults, the new form of recreation can occur without adult involvement. For this reason, the popular culture has a profound effect on youth. Pop lyrics for example, have a greater effect on virtually all young persons than most realize. While most young people claim to enjoy music without analyzing the lyrics, their language is filled with words, figures of speech and specific concepts and insights drawn from particular songs.

The young feel that pop festivals were one of the greatest things happening to them and view their active discouragement, particularly by the Ontario Provincial Police, as another instance of anti-youth discrimination.

Young people involved in cultural activities such as theatre and film-making are generally highly enthusiastic about their work. In the Toronto area, film and television work have found new uses as therapeutic devices and techniques of community development. This approach has produced superb results for those on both sides of the camera. It has increased awareness, sensitivity and the ability to articulate youth's view of life.

Travel offers an attractive blend of recreational and cultural activity to many Ontario youth. It is the first priority among those from middle-income groups. Their primary motives are personal experience and the opportunity to see other parts of the country. In contrast, young people from lower-income families travel from necessity to look for better work opportunities. Male hitch-hikers outnumber females; of those who hitch-hike out of Ontario in the summer approximately two-thirds head west.

Drugs provide another alternative to those unimpressed by recreational options. Increasingly, the use of soft drugs may be the rule rather the exception. At any rate, it seems a legitimate activity to most young persons. As a result, the decision to use soft drugs has become not a social issue, but a private matter among the young.

Most senior high school and university students consider cannabis a euphoric drug and say its use produces a happy experience. Ethnic youth and young workers 21 to 25 do not approve as unanimously. Although ambivalent feelings exist towards LSD, youth expresses very negative reactions to hard drugs, particularly heroin and speed. Even members of the speed community warn others of the drug's disastrous effects.

Indications of the extent of drug use in Ontario are the proliferation of facilities for drug abuse and frequent appearance of research reports on the subject. A wide range of drugs are readily available throughout Ontario and young persons view the sale of drugs as a service rather than a hostile activity. As a result, the young become angry and disgusted at unethical tactics of RCMP undercover agents. Since they believe cannabis is harmless, youth scorn warnings and "establishment" drug education campaigns. Young persons view legal punishment and harassment for using drugs as political punishment.

Across Ontario, the young speak with anger and bitterness of active harassment and discriminatory treatment by police, municipal authorities, school officials and commercial enterprises. The increased conflict stems in part from the increased presence of youth in the streets and parks. The young also object to the violation of civil liberties within the schools by such measures as censorship of student newspapers or locker searches by the police.

Some reforms have taken place. The Metropolitan Toronto Police Force has begun to co-operate with services operating in the Yorkville area, such as Digger House. It has also created a Community Relations Branch within its force to work with young people. Such initiatives are almost totally absent in other municipal police forces and especially in the Ontario Provincial Police. While expressing bitterness however, most youth stress that the Canadian situation is much better than the one in the United States.

Ontario youth feel a strong attachment for Canada. They deplore the failure of all governments to improve the level of knowledge about the way the country works or even preserve its existence. Economic nationalism is a top priority for students and young workers alike. Young persons from various ethnic communities remain puzzled by the lack of attempts to teach them about Canada, about its laws, traditions, politics and history.

The young feel that in most areas Canadians are coping with social problems more adequately than the Americans and even believe we can avoid many of their pitfalls. However, the prevalence of American television and magazines has made many Canadians more familiar with American issues than with Canadian. Young persons often tend to identify with American problems.

In the area of community and social development Ontario is the most active province in English Canada. Even isolated youth feel the reverberations of social-action projects. These often signal break-throughs by the young against social institutions which govern their lives. This manifests itself in terms of political activity. Young persons increasingly take up local and environmental issues. They are instrumental in forming citizens' groups and pressure groups such as Pollution Probe.

The various innovative services developed over the past six to seven years in southern Ontario cities are finally gaining acceptance. Social agencies are expanding the whole concept of social services. A feasible method of operation has developed under which the service gears its activities to a particular group, involves youth in planning and operations, is easily accessible, and operates under a social agency or a board of trustees for the purpose of administrative efficiency. The impetus for the establishment of these innovative services has come from a number of different, but often inter-related needs evident among the youth population.

Provincial and municipal governments have commissioned several major studies of these innovative services in the past few years. At the same time, the expanded concept of social service still meets firm, broadly based resistance, and change usually follows years of hostility from municipal authorities.

Notwithstanding the visibility of youth's role in community-action programmes, it is difficult to bring the concerns of all Ontario young persons into clear focus. Their preoccupations spring from not only the richest but also the most complex region in Canada. Within the province's borders are vast economic differences, extreme diversity in geographic terrain and broad variations in population density. At the same time, travel and an efficient communications system ensure that the styles of urban hip youth reach their rural fellows soon after they emerge. Although provincial trends are apparent, the extent to which young persons pursue them depends on where they live.

Among all Ontario youth, one continuing theme has been unrelenting criticism of the educational system. If they distinguished themselves from Atlantic youth, they did so not by the questions they raised, but in the answers to these questions.

The reason for this was the acute and widespread awareness among Ontario students of alternative forms of education. Certainly there were variations throughout the province in their willingness, both conceptually and through action, to challenge basic educational structures. However, most saw the need for some change. Their approaches ranged from moderate suggestions of reform to outright demands for the educational system's destruction.

But the most basic challenge came not from these two extremes. A fair number of young persons ignored schools and universities completely, evaded jobs and tried to transform alternative models for living into practical realities. Increasingly, the majority of Ontario students regard such experiments as legitimate. In their attractiveness lies the threat to existing educational structures. The appeal of such endeavours is great to the large number of Ontario students trying to figure out how to live the humanitarian values implicit in popular youth culture. Jobs and studies offer no hope. The counter-culture may.

The very pattern of Ontario society makes young persons aware of and receptive to these alternative models. Where populations are dense, communications networks, both formal and informal, are highly efficient. If the youth population is a diverse scattering of overlapping

groups, the ease of communication leaves few in isolation. If no group is entirely representative of the whole, no group is entirely unrepresentative. If they lack the profound sense of identity of young Quebecois, it is also difficult for them to be unaware of anything happening in the Ontario youth scene.

Another consequence of rapid communications is the speed at which new ideas are transmitted, tried and discarded. The very quickness of this process causes many Ontario youth to take an experimental approach to their activities. Even though a group of young persons in Ontario may pursue its own special interests, the nature of the communications process ensures that it will be aware of and receptive to new ideas, and to some extent, of alternative modes of living.

Particularly in urban areas, young persons often can find adult support for such experiments. More so than in other provinces, they can secure financial and technical assistance for their activities. Service agencies, both volunteer and public, perform this function and ensure a continuing interchange of ideas between adults and young persons. As a result, the young often have credible adult spokesmen to fight for their experiments within dubious local communities. In these circumstances, the young are at least viewed with some sympathy and understanding by more than a few adults. In rural areas, of course, new ideas take root with less rapidity.

In the cities, youth encounter difficulties inherent in the structures of industrial society. Numerous service organizations operate in large cities, but their activities are often over-specialized, unco-ordinated and poorly publicized. If young persons want money or technical assistance for a project, they must pick their way through a maze of agencies only to find that most offer services unrelated to their project. When assistance is available, youth fear it may mean government or adult direction of their project. The effective resource person or community organizer must carry an Ariadne's thread to negotiate successfully this organizational labyrinth.

Unemployment, particularly among youth, is an emerging reality in Ontario. Just as the flow increases from other regions, Ontario's school system is sending large numbers of high school, technical school and university graduates into the labour market. Even without the present downswing in the economy, it is likely that an insufficient number of jobs would be available for those seeking regular employment. Certainly, there are far from enough jobs available for the relatively unskilled students seeking summer employment. In these circumstances, an articulate minority are dismissing the very idea of work.

It may be, then, that the problems its young people are facing are the forerunners of the difficulties other provinces will soon face.

Manitoba

Specific Demands, Desires and Suggestions

Manitoba youth shared many specific concerns with their Ontario counterparts. The usual youthful suspicion of government surfaced in a concern with the methods used by governments to assist them. Young Manitobans were emphatic that the implementation of programmes should occur through local organizations. They also wanted some assurance that young persons at the local level would have access to federal programme administrators. Several suggested specific structures to ensure that the young had some control over the direction of youth programmes. At the same time, many were skeptical about programmes specifically directed towards youth. They felt such an approach would isolate them as a separate underprivileged group and would place an additional bureaucratic layer between them and those in control of policy. Young persons were becoming increasingly involved in social-action programmes to the benefit of the entire community.

Young Manitobans wanted more extensive federal involvement in education. They maintained their present education was both irrelevant and inadequate. They wanted an increase in federal grants to young persons upon request. Specifically, such grants would go to educational innovations. These would include a fundamental recognition that education can occur outside school buildings. More precisely, travel and exchange programmes, more "practical" courses and various forms of participation in community action projects were suggested.

Youth's emphasis on travel as a form of education also led them to ask for a national system of hostels. In Manitoba,

young persons felt there was a need for these 12 months of the year. Specifically, they wanted federal support for such hostels to come through local organizations.

As in the other provinces, youth unemployment was widespread in Manitoba. Young persons, critical of Manpower's present performance, demanded this agency's fundamental re-organization so

that the Department could focus specifically on the needs of youth. They suggested Manpower should actively seek jobs suited to young persons and persuade potential employers to redefine their personnel classifications to bring them in tune with the reality of youth. Frustrations with the Manpower retraining programme also prompted young persons to request its re-evaluation in terms of its usefulness. Specifically, they expected the government to take a new look at the type of counselling used in directing young persons to technical schools.

At a more general level, Manitoba youth wanted the federal government, indeed all governments and the rest of society, to recognize the validity of their own view of work. These would involve governmental recognition of unpaid activities outside traditional employment structures. Ultimately, they hoped the government would attempt to make this view of work more popularly acceptable.

Manitoba youth were also quite critical of law enforcement in the province. They wanted the federal government to give more consideration to the rights of youth as citizens, particularly in relation to RCMP methods of collecting evidence and enforcing laws. They suggested many of youth's most publicized problems could be dealt with by innovative services administered by young persons. Indeed, they wanted the federal government to encourage the formation of such services run by youth with whatever community assistance they desired. They stressed the importance of re-evaluating such services once the need for them had waned.

Most young Manitobans expressed a strong suspicion of and alienation from government and politics. A few suggested government encouragement of political participation through a concerted information campaign about government methods and purposes. Others suggested the lowering of the provincial voting age to 18.

General Perspectives

As in other provinces, the specific demands of young Manitobans spring from their experiences with the major institutions they encounter each day. The young in Manitoba are conscious of alternative models for living and point to the discrepancy between these and the imperatives of most institutions in the province.

The adult community, particularly the education authorities, continues to regard education as training for employment. Young people believe education should equip them for life generally by cultivating learning and perception skills. They say they could easily acquire individually information presented in school. They objected to outdated and irrelevant course content, dry textbook presentation, lack of student-teacher contact, and the high degree of regimentation.

Native youth are even more frustrated by the quality of education available to them in school. They want an education rooted in their traditions and culture. Native youth are forced to relate to an alien culture and they can identify only slightly with the values taught by the white educational system.

Youth's powerlessness to shape education is frustrating and they express this dissatisfaction by dropping out rather than becoming actively involved. However, a growing minority has committed itself to change; the current Manitoba government has raised expectations in this area.

At the same time, young Manitobans are finding it increasingly difficult to find permanent or summer employment. Student employment offices assist only a few; many get the impression they are not welcome. Many criticize the lack of job-matching, particularly within the technical schools. They also want counselling services geared to the Manitoba situation.

More and more young persons are opting for non-employment. Because of increases in leisure time and the growing feasibility of living adequately on part-time wages, the Protestant work ethic appears anachronistic to many.

Although some Manitoba youth still respond positively to conservative programmes sponsored by traditional organizations, more and more ignore these programmes, preferring to spend their leisure time in unstructured relaxation and development of interpersonal relationships. The most popular facility for such activities is the drop-in centre, preferably one run by young persons. Where such facilities are absent, youth often create their own meeting places.

Drop-in centres have mushroomed throughout Winnipeg. Most receive financial support from a variety of sources including the government, volunteer organizations, the United Way and individuals. After an initial hostility, the general community has become more relaxed about the centres during the past year.

Immediate concerns are the first premise behind the establishment of such centres; most young persons react negatively to suggestions for permanent activities. There is also a considerable overlap between drop-in centres and other innovative services. Yet drop-in centres have proved the most effective means of reaching those in need of other services such as drug crisis, counselling, legal assistance and medical aid.

The need for more recreational alternatives becomes apparent when one considers the extensive use of drugs and alcohol. In rural areas, young people often use alcohol much more than drugs. Such drinking is generally acceptable to the whole community. In urban areas, drug use is widespread and drugs are readily available. Drug use has spread from students to the young adult community. Older people continue to react with irrational fear to drug use. As a result, most young persons cannot discuss the subject with their parents.

Most young Manitobans argue for the legalization of cannabis and its derivatives. Some feel LSD should also be legal. Most sectors of the community agree there is a need for drug education and treatment centres for those suffering from abuse. In response, some drug education programmes have been set up but there is a need for more.

With drug use and the misunderstanding it breeds comes, of course, youthful suspicion of the police and legal system. equally critical is the hardening of the view, among the adult community, which endorses extensive police and judicial involvement in matters relating not only to drug use but to the broader spectrum of youth activities.

In rural areas, relations between the RCMP and white youth are amicable and accommodating. Native youth in general dislike and distrust the RCMP; they express their resentment through silence and acquiescence. There is every reason to assume the police award them disproportionate attention. Natives in cities are particularly vulnerable. The police working with them have little information or understanding of their culture and behaviour. For a people from a free-living culture, the punishment and confinement of our penal system is incomprehensible. It reinforces a well entrenched pattern of withdrawal.

Lack of contact makes most urban youth fairly non-committal in their attitude towards police. The exception occurs in the application of narcotics laws. Relations with the RCMP Narcotics Division deteriorate daily. Young people strongly dislike the unethical tactics used by undercover agents, and want a reduction in the current penalties for drug use or possession. Since youth do not consider drug use criminal, punishment becomes a further example of society's arbitrary and hostile repression of young people.

Youth have made a distinctive contribution in the field of innovative services operated by and for the youth community. Youth organizations run by the young provide an outlet and a contact for those who are neglected, alienated, or sufficiently independent to have no use for traditional programmes. These services include "outreach" programmes, short or long-term support and specific aid such as medical, legal, drug or psychiatric assistance. Operated primarily

by young people, they come under "umbrella" organizations which administer and negotiate with authorities on their behalf.

Although the initial reaction of the general community to these services has been hostile and unco-operative, extensive community work has resulted in a growing acceptance by the community at large. The decision of the provincial government to support some of these services is having considerable impact upon public opinion. Many public officials are adopting more lenient attitudes toward these services and, in a few cases, providing active encouragement.

Saskatchewan

Specific Demands, Desires and Suggestions

As in the rest of Canada, Saskatchewan youth are very concerned about employment possibilities. However, the added dimension of this concern in Saskatchewan was the prospect of the necessity of leaving the province. As one Regina youth put it, "our greatest export is people." The awareness of many young persons about the difficulty of finding work in the province prompted a wide range of specific requests. Importance was attached to the need for more efficient and humane forms of job placement. Many expressed satisfaction with the operation of the Opportunity Caravan (Mobile Counselling Unit) and pointed to it as a model for bringing necessary information to a large number of people. However, although there was considerable criticism of Canada Manpower Centres, a heightened awareness that the creation of job possibilities in Saskatchewan could only be marginal was evident.

Similarly, many were coming to realize that they should rely instead on the possibilities of finding work outside the province.

High school students voiced a critique of their education similar to that expressed across the country. They also frequently argued for national standardization of entrance requirements to post-secondary institutions in order to facilitate mobility out of the province. In this respect they are like youth in the Atlantic provinces, for example, for whom transferability is a vital issue.

Specific proposals for federal support of innovative services and youth-run programmes were prevalent, but were put forward with less insistence than elsewhere. This may reflect the fact that many young persons leave the province and consequently the problems typical of urban areas are less visible.

Nevertheless, there were frequent requests for drug-treatment and counselling centres where the young could get help and advice without threats from the police. Many saw the value of federal support for experimental learning programmes and communes supported, perhaps, by an extended granting system modelled on the Canada Council.

Youth wanted youth-run hostels established across Canada by the federal government. More novel and fairly frequent recommendations were for a government-paid summer travel allowance for young persons and a system of depots across the country where the young could pick up their mail and exchange information.

Although suspicious of the intentions of the Committee, Saskatchewan's native population were quite willing to make specific recommendations. Out of a public meeting in Uranium City came a whole series of suggestions. Lack of recreational options - besides billiards and drinking - prompted many to ask for the construction of a community centre for the use of young and old. They also wanted a native community development officer appointed to work with the local Native Housing Organization. The latter, with the help of funds from the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation is building and administering a housing project for native people. Another duty of this official would be to set up a recreational programme in the community.

General Perspectives

Of concern to many Saskatchewan youth is the general lack of activity on the political and social level. This is interpreted by some as simply the calm before the storm: others saw this disillusionment and lack of active youth involvement in the life of the province as likely to continue for some time.

In that respect, the mood of Saskatchewan is comparable to that in many other parts of the country. What is lacking, however, is the extensive youth activity occurring elsewhere in such fields as community and social development, cultural innovations, etc. This is perhaps not surprising given youth's preoccupation with a limited occupational horizon.

In these circumstances students expressed discontent with the outdated and irrelevant content of most courses. No attempt is made to relate formal studies to the geographic, economic or social environment with which youth are concerned. School continues to be an artificial and unreal experience with little carry-over into the lives of most young persons.

The assumption that students can save $500 from summer employment is unjust in a province where summer jobs are scarce. The present student loans are insufficient to support them through a school year.

Education is, also, of little use to many young persons in finding a job. After nearly two decades of relative prosperity the Saskatchewan economy is rapidly declining. Many youth have little hope for a future in the province and intend to settle and work elsewhere in Canada. Although various institutions continue to issue figures denying the drop in employment, these do little to counteract the sense of despondency among youth.

Just as the economy cannot provide many attractive jobs for the young within the province, provincial recreational programmes offer few pastimes acceptable to the young. Saskatchewan's many recreation programmes sponsor mainly physical activities. The confining structure and the number of adults serving as leaders diminish the appeal of these programmes even more. An increasing number of people are interested rather in

creating and operating their own activities, or non-activities. Instead of adult leaders, they are asking for adults who will work with them, acting as resource personnel and enablers.

Travel is another recreational option. However, Saskatchewan is generally a province which young persons travel through. The lack of summer jobs has prompted many Saskatchewan youth to

look for work in Ontario or British Columbia, or simply see the rest of the country when job possibilities seem poor everywhere.

The services provided for young transients remain sparse. Saskatchewan youth repeatedly point to the need for a network of hostels, not only in cities but also along major highways. They also want access to health facilities where they can receive treatment without criticism and moral judgements.

As elsewhere, drug use is an accepted part of the lives of many Saskatchewan youth. However, there are few drug-crisis or drop-in centres to cope with attendant problems. These centres arouse community hostility, and are usually subjected to such close police surveillance that they cannot function effectively.

Unfortunately, the attitude of most Saskatchewan police forces has precluded the sort of co-operation which has been achieved in other cities where the value of such services is recognized. Police and public officials assume that by prohibiting places for youth to congregate or receive assistance, they can eradicate "the problem."

As a result, a major concern of Regina youth is their relationship with the police. The young throughout the province cite instances of harassment and discriminatory treatment by police who often arbitrarily demand identification or provoke youth by making derogatory personal remarks.

Youth perceive this discriminatory application of the law as consistent with the policy of many provincial and municipal officials. It also compounds the commercial discrimination exercised by many stores, taverns, etc. Not surprisingly, young persons argue here for the legalization of soft drugs. Their criticisms of the legal and political system are becoming increasingly articulate, and they are urging steps to reverse the deteriorating relations with officials.

Saskatchewan youth are generally as politically conscious and sophisticated as those anywhere in Canada. However, there is relatively little active involvement. The prevailing political climate is not conducive to the community development and social action which have become the focus for young activists in other parts of Canada.

The pressing problems of young persons in Saskatchewan, although no less real than anywhere else in Canada, have not evoked the community response which facilitates significant channels of communication and co-operation. It remains to be seen whether the general sense of isolation expressed by many youth in Saskatchewan can be overcome through an improvement in economic and social conditions which would provide viable options within the province.

Alberta

Specific Demands, Desires and Suggestions

Youth in Alberta experience much of the cultural discontent and restlessness usually associated with the young members of a prosperous, well industrialized society. Unlike their Saskatchewan counterparts, they do not feel quite as set apart from the rest of society if they assume contemporary styles. Their demands, if they can be characterized, seem to reflect a frustrated desire to participate in the decision-making process.

For example, a major complaint deals with their lack of involvement in setting up educational curricula. They demand specific structures to give them some control over the courses they are taught. Similarly, they ask for an end to censorship and arbitrary controls over student activities. They also demand lower tuition fees for university education and some effort at facilitating their attempts to get loans, grants, scholarships and bursaries. Further, they raise a basic question about federal-provincial relations when they advocate uniform standards in universities across Canada.

Alberta youth want federal financing for projects run by youth for young persons. These include drop-in centres as well as facilities to provide legal aid, medical help and counselling. In making all these demands, they expressed strong suspicions of professionals, governments, and traditional voluntary organizations.

Their relationships with the legal and political systems were, to say the least, uneasy. Many young Albertans complained of police harassment and discrimination in the courts. These encounters with the establishment and a generalized sense of impotence in relation to the educational system were causing many young Albertans to become more and more politicized. Moderates suggested a lowering of the voting age to 18.

The more radical demanded a basic restructuring of the political system to permit effective mass participation.

General Perspectives

The specific requests of young Albertans spring from their experiences with the major institutions which affect their lives. To a lesser extent than in Saskatchewan, these experiences are underlined with the reality of economic hardship. Young Albertans complain there are no channels through which they can bring necessary change to institutions. More often, the changes they conceptualize are cultural - in the broadest sense - rather than related to the achievement of greater efficiency in a technological society.

For example, high school students are restless and frustrated by their powerlessness in determining what they will study. They express great interest in ideas of free schools and public schools with open curricula (along the lines suggested by the Hall-Dennis Report in Ontario).

Students believe the classroom should develop fundamental learning and thinking processes used throughout life rather than be geared to the acquisition of facts soon forgotten. Many also oppose competitive grading systems. They complain about incompetent teaching staff who have little rapport with or interest in the students. They also want national education standards.

University students believe the costs of university training still exclude many potential students because the current student-aid plan has not sufficiently rectified economic inequalities. Too little thought goes to the marked disparities in socio-economic admissibility to higher education. Many suggest the establishment of summer projects for unemployed students who would be "paid" with a federal government loan.

A high drop-out rate among native youth is an indictment of an education system which does not relate to them. Within the present system, the Indian students' cultural background is denigrated. As a result, they have no motivation to equip themselves for a society which shuns them.

The shortage of jobs is less severe in Alberta than elsewhere. However, challenging work related to a chosen field is becoming more difficult to find. Many youth, especially university graduates, plan to look for jobs in Ontario or the United States - increasingly the former rather than the latter.

As in most other provinces, Alberta youth are very critical of Manpower for its lack of counselling services, excessive red-tape and superficial treatment of people and problems. In their search for work, be it either a source of income or a relevant career, they rely heavily on Manpower as the "representative" of the labour market, and are usually disappointed.

The young are trying to open up new vistas in the recreational field. As a start, they want more youth-run centres. These centres have already been reasonably successful in providing opportunities for a few young persons to assume responsibility and engage in the decision-making process. They also provide practice in leadership and negotiation. Emphasis is placed on voluntary youth activity with a primary consideration given to youth involvement and service to the community. More broad-scale community development work is evident and gaining additional support in the urban areas.

If youth is to some degree an interest group, it may well adopt the pattern by which an increasing number of specialized groups are solving their problems. Blacks, Indians, welfare groups, to name only a few, prefer increasingly to become actively involved in the solution of their own problems. They are choosing to operate their own services rather than remain clients of an agency.

The first stage of such development frequently involves the exclusion of all outsiders until the group gains the self-confidence to work profitably with others. In many cases, this occurs in the drop-in centres as the young try to develop alternatives to the materialistic tone which pervades many of the adult attitudes and ways of community living in Alberta.

Although the Canadian Youth Hostels Association has its greatest concentration in Banff National Park, facilities are far from sufficient in the summer. Moreover, the Park authorities would not allow the establishment of a national youth hostel in summer 1970, although after much persuasion they finally did permit a tent camp. The whole question of the use of public parks merits serious consideration.

A need exists for hostels in the cities. Even without extensive funding, hostels and crash pads are emerging. But these are far from sufficient to meet the growing demand.

Many Alberta youth express concern about the new patterns of drug use in the province, particularly among the younger age group (13 to 15). Many youth expressed the belief that the RCMP campaign to close down all outlets of cannabis catalyzed an increased use of heroin and other hard drugs. As a Calgary youth said: "there are a lot of people in the city just now who are hipped with the idea of turning to drugs and if one drug is not available, they're willing to try something else, in this case, heroin . . ."

Many youth want more drug-crisis centres and hospitals to deal with drug cases. They also stress the need for accurate information about drugs. Here, as elsewhere in many parts of Canada, the initial development of crisis centres and drop-in centres originating with a service role is now broadening into the area of community service and development.

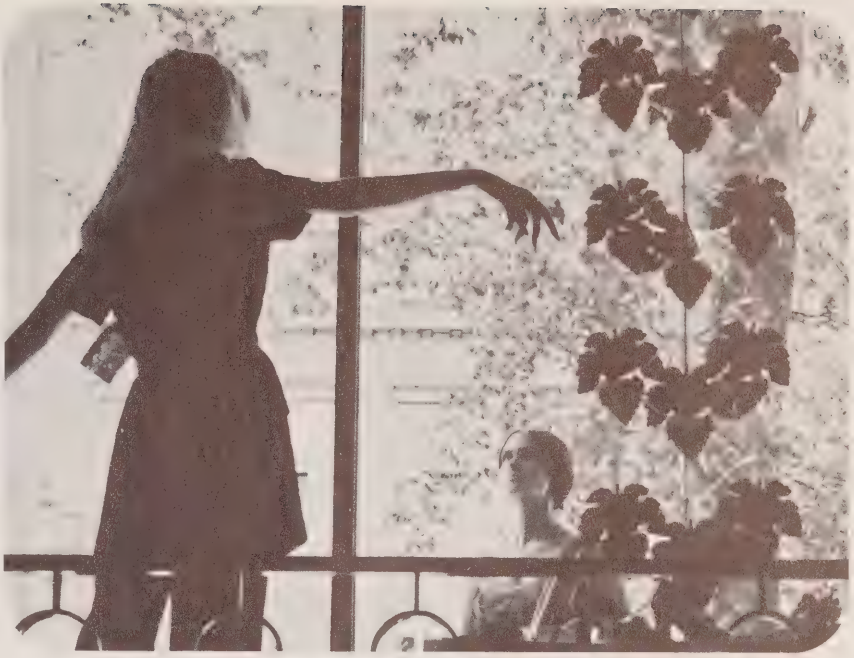
British Columbia

Specific Demands, Desires and Suggestions

Young persons in British Columbia were as vocal in articulating their desires as youth in Ontario and Quebec. They seemed more impatient than youth elsewhere about getting these suggestions implemented. To them, the needs were immediate.

For example, the high level of mobility in Canadian society suggested the necessity of uniform standards of education across the country. Such a reform, they felt, would eliminate both inferior education in certain regions and the potential loss of a school year by certain students because of differences in provincial educational systems. Youth also wanted federal support for experimental educational programmes and suggested that the federal government provide money for a free university on an experimental basis. They were critical of the Canada Student Loans Plan and requested its complete re-evaluation to remove economic obstacles to equality of educational opportunity. For the same reason, they wanted the federal government to provide loans to students who have to bear the cost of living away from home to get the education they desire or need.

To be eligible for participation in any federal support programmes, they demanded both secondary schools and universities meet certain conditions. First, they must include students on all governing bodies, particularly those dealing with policy, curriculum and staff selection. Secondly, they had to be open to the community after school hours for social, recreational and educational activities.



More widespread than this concern about education was the demand for various services specifically directed towards youth. These included grants for youth-run organizations, such as hostels, communes and co-operatives. Young British Columbians envisaged hostels which would provide a bed for a nominal fee and travel subsidies for young persons who wanted to explore the province or country. As in Ontario, they suggested a system of loans for businesses run by youth such as handicraft shops, macrobiotic food markets, and so on. Drop-in drug-treatment centres were also high on the list of priorities as well as family planning clinics and playgrounds.

Many were also extremely suspicious of the police and the legal system. Drug use and the police's singling out of the young for harassment were the major reasons for such attitudes. They suggested a change in drug laws, particularly in regard to soft drugs. A few wanted stiffer requirements for entry into police forces and more opportunities for retraining within them - especially in human relations, community action and rehabilitation.

The influx of young job-seekers into British Columbia from the East has aggravated the youth employment problem in the province. In this situation, more and more young British Columbians have inflated expectations of Canada Manpower Centres' function and as a result are increasingly critical of their effectiveness.

Skeptical of the usefulness of Manpower's retraining programmes, they suggest a basic re-assesment to ensure that they create marketable rather than obsolescent skills. They also envisage expansion of the federal role in this area to include the provision of assistance for young persons seeking academic as well as technical retraining.

To remedy youths' ignorance of the

employment scene, many recommended the development of a comprehensive job booklet for distribution in secondary schools, the creation of a classroom role for Manpower counsellors and the provision of a programme wherein young persons could be exposed to the real work environment. The last would involve arrangements with employers and unions to create short-term jobs at a nominal wage or apprenticeship programmes. Finally, the young also suggested a decentralization of the entire Manpower program to bring it into closer harmony with local needs.

Although the young concentrated on ideas which would make job seeking easier, they also suggested ways in which Manpower could create work. One idea was to provide federal support for a year-round anti-pollution youth work programme. Tied in with the student loan programme, they hoped such projects would help, in particular, students from lower income groups. They also stressed the value of funding innovative programmes administered by groups in local communities to help young drop-outs and the economically disadvantaged.

Young persons in British Columbia put considerable emphasis on the methods permissible to governments in providing assistance. Youth's major fear was potential government domination of their activity and resultant ineffectiveness, particularly if they were providing services to other young persons. Thus, they wanted to ensure their own direct involvement on the federal bodies formulating policy in this area. Such involvement could occur through various specific, formal structures as well as direct youth membership on the relevant federal bodies. Those formulating and administering policy should be in continuous direct contact with youth organizations at the community as well as the provincial and national levels. Finally, organized young persons at the community level should have direct access to funds or, at the very least, through regional representatives. Such were the general principles British Columbia youth felt should govern federal assistance to young persons.

General Perspectives

These specific demands and often acerbic articulations of principle sprang from a context where youth's relationship with major institutions was often strained, to say the least. In this highly urbanized and industrialized province, the rigidity of the policies, structures and values of existing institutions has, to a certain extent, polarized the community along generational lines.

The education system remains geared to training individuals for a job. It ignores suggestions that it be directed towards training people to respond to their environment to make socio-economic and political decisions.

In high schools there is a direct correlation between degree of discontent and school size. Students in large secondary schools complain of the factory atmosphere. The most overwhelming satisfaction came from students attending open-progression, pupil-involved schools (e.g., Carson Graham Secondary School in Vancouver) and small independent schools. Since the present provincial government refuses to support independent schools, many students look to the federal government for assistance in preserving these progressive schools.

Discontent is most frequently expressed by absenteeism. Traditional schools respond to this protest with more rules and security measures. On the other hand,

progressive schools increase student involvement in curriculum-planning and administration.

An increasing number of drop-outs comes from middle and upper income homes, and questions the goals and values of education. As long as schools retain their "take it or leave it" approach and make no attempt to reach this disenchanted half of the youth population, one can expect this drop-out rate to remain high.

University education remains the preserve of the upper and middle classes. However, the greatest barriers are not only financial; they include low-income family situations which condition youth to low aspirations. Teaching staff insensitive to student interests and rigid adherence to purely academic criteria of "pass or fail" also reduce students' educational aspirations. The streaming process perpetuates the discrepancies too. Real freedom to choose the form of training where interest lies will come only when education loses its class characteristics.

While most agree student loans are reaching those in need, they feel needy students cannot make up the difference between a $1,000 loan and the $2,600 needed for the academic year. Many suggest the government investigate the feasibility of establishing free universities which would open opportunities for those with limited income or for those who have been away from school for some time.

The majority of Indian youth drop-out after Grade 8. Although Indian youth state education is essential if they are to assume an equal role in society, the available education has the opposite effect. The penalties attached to higher education usually outweigh the rewards. As one school official explained: "If he lives on a reserve, he will probably have to leave his family by the time he's in Grade 8. The school he attends may ignore - or even denigrate - his history and culture. He may encounter discrimination in the predominantly white society he joins. At the same time, he runs the risk of alienation from the Indian society. And in a highly competitive school system, he's handicapped from the start by language and cultural differences and by a tradition which does not glorify the go-getter. Given this situation, the high drop-out rate should come as no surprise."

For those who drop out, finding a job is often difficult. About half of those who start school each year in British Columbia will enter the job market before completing high school. Young people in this situation find that Manpower cannot offer them training programmes because they lack dependants and have not spent the necessary three years in the labour force. Moreover, academic upgrading is not available through Manpower. Many young persons mentioned endless frustrations incurred in Manpower training schemes. Several suggested the need for courses geared to the local economy.

The summer job situation is bleak because of generally depressed economic conditions, federal government anti-inflation measures, growing technology and labour disputes. Most students get jobs through friends or relatives. Attempts to create and find jobs through Manpower or private agencies have had little success.

The most popular leisure activity among British Columbia youth is travel to "experience different ways of living, meet new people, and see if you make it on your own". Moreover, the west coast is the favourite destination of Canadian youth; many end up using welfare services.

Private hostels cater to older indigents or are too expensive for young transients. The government operated successful hostels in the summer of 1970 in Vancouver and Revelstoke, but they encountered strong opposition from municipal authorities.

Young people feel that, compared to the vast amounts spent on formal education of dubious value, the cost of facilitating the learning experience of travelling would be minimal.

British Columbia youth also wanted to talk about the use and abuse of drugs, the distinctions between soft and hard drugs, attitudes toward their use, and the punitive laws surrounding their sale, possession, and use. The motives for drug use fall into three general categories: for a minority, it is an escape mechanism; for a majority, it is simply a pleasurable, social activity; for some others, it is a form of self-enlargement.

Young persons want facts about hard and soft drugs, although they express mixed feelings on the question of legalization. Many articulate concern about the dangers of heroin and its connections with organized crime which controls most of the market.

All sectors of the younger population use soft drugs, but members of the hip sub-culture, the most visible and vulnerable, bear the brunt of the legal persecution. Arrests of these youth have little effect on the level of drug use.

British Columbia youth, their attitudes heavily influenced by the United States, do not see an appreciable difference between Canadian and American police. The drug issue also plays a role in this polarization. Over the past year, both young persons and police have taken attitudes and actions which are similar to the responses in the American situation.

Many young people pointed to peaceful nature of past demonstrations or marches where police maintained neutrality and co-operated with leaders. There have

been increasing incidents lately of police appearing in riot-squad equipment and displaying open hostility. Such action can only lead to a vicious circle of escalating violence. It is up to municipalities, with control over police, to restrain these excesses, perhaps by judicious use of their budgetary power.

In many British Columbian municipalities, other youth-inspired innovative services have acquired increasing support. Even traditional social agencies are, to an increasing extent, co-operating with youthful initiatives. The result of such co-operation is a heightening awareness within traditional institutions of an expanded concept of social service. Their co-operation with youth groups follows a certain definable pattern. The agency shapes its activity to the demands of a specific group and involves young persons in both planning and operation. Often, the agency creates an umbrella organization, helping a wide variety of youth groups by breaking the way for them within the community at large and in the political arena. In this sense, the more experimental agencies have come to operate as a bridge between the adult and youth community.

In many cases, the influx of youthful transients with all the attendant problems prompted the setting up of such arrangements. Specifically, this migration provided the rationale for setting up drug-treatment and drop-in centres in both Vancouver and Victoria. These are now expanding into counselling and more general medical-aid centres. Their *modus operandi* is to create relatively unstructured situations where troubled young persons can relate to counsellors on an equal basis. Often, this is the only form of relationship with official bodies such young persons can endure.

In spite of the rapid proliferation of such services and praise for them at the governmental, community and youth levels, they meet serious resistance. Many municipal leaders bitterly resist such innovations. The polarization created by the attitudes of these authorities could still bring about a dramatic cutback in these necessary services at a time when the need for them is escalating.

Young people in British Columbia are extremely cynical about the political process. Restrictions on the voting age and the lack of avenues of influence other than demonstrations have estranged most youth from traditional political involvement. Young people throughout the province want a voice in the decision-making which governs their lives but they are very cynical about the possibilities of satisfaction. Many young people are apolitical in the sense that they express more concern with what actually occurs at the individual or community level than the steps which parties claim to be taking to resolve problems. Those more active in community-development projects still make up only a minority of the young in British Columbia. However, their actions have an influence far beyond their numbers. The effectiveness of their efforts is beginning to prompt more apathetic young persons to follow their example. Often environmental issues are adequate to spark off widespread community support for their activities.

Even in the educational sphere, the few experimental secondary schools have proved to many young persons that something can be done. If anything, this has added to the intensity of their educational criticisms and their willingness to take action in order to bring the educational institutions more in line with their aspirations.

Conclusions

To summarize exactly the attitudes of Canadian youth is a very complex task. For this reason, the Committee decided in this conclusion to report those demands most frequently repeated across Canada which we consider as highly valid indicators. If this list is not exhaustive, it at least touches on those which indicate the national trends in youth orientations towards Canadian society.

However, two points emerged from the preceding extensive description of youth opinion. First, these vary tremendously right across Canada. Secondly, the youth are uniformly critical of most adults and social institutions with which they have to deal.

Certain conclusions follow from these points. Every young person is an inextricable part of the community in which he resides. However, he is very rarely a contented, fully integrated member. Most of the young share so profound a suspicion of most social institutions that the burden of proving the Canadian social system's feasibility rests with the authorities. The young are no longer passive recipients of whatever comes along. Most have some intimation of what they want, but little hope of getting it as things are presently constituted. Innovations consistent with youth's demands are too few to weave any more than a minority of young persons into the Canadian social fabric, as traditionally conceived.

Much of the young's frustrations stem from difficulties totally within the private sector or areas of provincial jurisdiction. Resolution of these problems will depend on action and reconciliation at these levels. Given the inordinate degree of adult hostility which the Committee witnessed towards even insignificant as well as serious youth ventures, this is unlikely to occur easily. But the demand for change is in part directed at the federal government. The young pointed to weaknesses in federal policies and made suggestions about how they can be improved. These have their basis in the antithesis between their own values and the imperatives of an economic system which seems to discriminate against both the young and the poor.

The high unemployment rate - particularly among the young - is an exceedingly sore point. Young persons' suggestions are both vehement and pertinent. Perhaps their most frequent appeal is for improved co-ordination between the educational system, private corporations and governmental bodies which employ and counsel the labour force. At the moment, they claim training does not match jobs requirements.

Young workers express more particular concerns. They would like to see training programmes which would inform them about labour laws, minimum wages, labour force mobility programmes, rights of association, etc.

More generally, the young demand that society and government recognize the validity of work unrelated to economic gain. Young persons would prefer work relevant to the satisfaction of human needs in a community context. For example, they suggest a year-round anti-pollution work programme employing young persons, particularly in the summer. With the help of experts, the young would organize and run such a programme. Other young persons suggested that such programmes should be tied in with the student loan programme and operate on a repayment required incentive plan. Its major beneficiaries would be low-income students. Incentives for participation by industry and labour could come in the form of tax benefits.

Young workers pointed to an even more serious need. Forced to move

to cities in order to find a job, they often faced serious difficulties, both economic and psychological, in adjusting to city life. Unable to afford a place to live and unaware of available counselling services, they said there was a definite need for publicly supported youth residences. Other young persons, who had left home because of family difficulties, described a similar need.

Experiments in alternative living also attracted demands for government support - even from young persons not involved in such endeavours. Rural communes and urban co-operatives were seen as intrinsically valuable in themselves as well as models to imitate by many of the young. They argued such experimental efforts should receive direct subsidies or at least loans from the federal government. Minimal government support could come in the form of guarantees for bank loans.

A perpetual focus of student criticism is the irrelevance of curricula and structure of authority at all levels of school systems. The failure of the educational system to prepare graduates for jobs is only one area of youth criticism about the schools. In their minds, the entire system is in need of a basic re-evaluation and re-orientation. A few suggested as a preliminary measure the creation of a field team to distribute information on the significance of the emerging problems in the educational sphere. They also would like to see a greater concern on the part of schools in economically disadvantaged neighbourhoods to bring their student populations into contact with necessary social services. The penetration of the media into all Canadian regions has also prompted a demand for audio-visual laboratories. Just as the young would prefer courses which deal with issues immediately pertinent to their own needs and environments, they also want to experiment with these new forms of communication.

Such concerns, of course, relate very closely to the needs youth perceive for various services in the larger community. For example, they repeatedly requested, particularly in rural or semi-rural areas, the opening up of school facilities after hours for recreational, social and educational purposes. They also saw a need for more day-care centres with extensive funding from public bodies. In this same area, the young requested more government encouragement of those setting up pre-marital counselling, family life and birth control services.

Firmly established in the minds of the young is the principle that such services be run by youth for youth. In allocating funds for social-service agencies, they suggested all governments give priority to those agencies whose

mode of operation was consistent with this principle. The supplying of such services to youth by adults was unacceptable. A specific example of this orientation was their demand that governments support community drug-treatment centres. Although the young wanted extensive financial support and an injection of expertise over the long term, they were quite clear in their rejection of any government or adult domination of such centres. Ideally, they maintained that the government should assist the young in devolving responsibility for such centres completely onto the shoulders of those they served.

Lack of facilities and information was another obstacle to the young's creation of a whole range of services. To solve the first problem, some young persons asked the federal government to consider lending, giving or selling surplus federal facilities to organizations serving or run by the young. In the case of the second, they wanted the federal government to make a greater effort at informing young persons about the programmes and services it offered to them. They felt such an effort would require a sharp departure from present practices which have made ignorance the rule rather than the exception.

Beyond the priorities created by unemployment, schooling rigidities, social service needs and the simple request for facilities and information, there were the needs generated by the young's desire for travel and alternative life-styles.

From young transients, there was a consistent demand for financial, material and professional support for youth hostels directed by the young for the young. Lack of money was a continual obstacle to the creation and continuation of such services. For this reason, many young persons specifically suggested that the federal government set up a system of granting direct subsidies or loans to hostels, use its power to establish them directly in the face of obstinate or recalcitrant municipalities, and provide travel allowances.

There was also a cultural dimension to youth's demands. Many young artists, singers, actors and writers said there were few facilities where they could get together to exchange ideas let alone practice. As a result, they claimed creative and cultural activity often languished. They asserted that the formation of artists' villages and seminars by the federal government - but run by the participants - would increase both the quantity and the quality of youthful efforts at creative activity.

If the young are cynical about their chances of finding fulfilment in Canadian society, they are not too despairing to articulate specific demands. Indeed, perhaps most impressive to the Committee was the broad range of specific requests put forward by young persons. These, of course, sprang from their complex interaction with Canada's social, educational, economic and political institutions. If this bred alienation and gloom among the youth, it also generated a touch of hope and an alternative view of reality, powerful in its implications. However, "getting it together" is, by no means, easy.

Chapter III
Getting It Together

Introduction

Upon youth are focused the majority of society's collective hopes at every level for both community and social change. Competing claims from different institutions rain down upon young persons. Because of this focus, young persons are being made the primary agents of change.

If young persons' opinions vary enormously with wealth, region, culture and language, they also merge in a stubborn rejection of major existing social, cultural, economic and political institutions. The reasons for this rejection are exceedingly complex.

But it is only a magnified reflection of the frustration and anxiety many adults experience when faced with the imperatives of large-scale organizations in our society. If young persons seem to have more solidarity, it is only because collectively they are the focus of society's conflicting hopes and are sharing for the first time similar experiences of similar institutions - the home, the school, the university, the CEGEP, the first job.

With considerable turmoil, the church, the family, the school and the job, regarded in the past as shapers of society, have rapidly been losing their power, becoming creators of their antitheses or mutating into something new. Their positive function is credible only insofar as they have recognized the need for qualitative change and its implications.[1] But recognition and an effective response are far from easy. Student protests, aimed at a liberating transformation of rigid university structures, may lead to the disintegration of the university when a hostile and unsympathetic public demands repressive intervention in its operations to prevent change within the institution.

Within this complicated web of action, reaction and interaction, certain patterns emerge. Within the lower echelons of institutions, more and more persons are trying to re-define their role and its relevance to their own concerns, their clients' interests, and social needs. Along with the clients served by institutions, they are fighting for a basic re-ordering of both priorities and structures.

There is often enough flexibility at the lower levels of contemporary institutions to produce a limited but effective response. Teachers may experiment with unstructured, non-directive learning environments. Municipalities may encourage the use of schools as drop-in centres or community halls to serve those outside the institutional milieu. In the long run, these innovations may lead to fundamental changes in the basic goals and structures of institutions. But often institutional hierarchies resist these changes because an attachment to the past and a lack of understanding make such reforms a challenge to their ingrained prerogatives. Caught between their loyalty to the institution and their perception of the need for change, innovators may stay, accepting limitations on their effectiveness, or opt out and by so doing deprive the institution of necessary flexibility. If this process continues, then the forces for qualitative change will ossify and the moral suasion of institutions will gradually wane.

The institutional framework of our society then faces a fundamental challenge which hopefully will bring complete re-evaluation. Re-examining the meaning of the individual's role within the institution is only one facet. There is the need also for a re-assessment of the institution's own societal role, as defined by the community. Ultimately, it may mean, in many instances, a new effort to redefine the nature of society.

Potpourri of Pop

When most adults see the manifestations of popular youth culture, they see a "generation gap". Certainly, there is a widening discontinuity between young and old; but in relation to pop culture, this gap takes on the dimensions of a situation comedy.

In a certain light, the components of pop culture - ostentatious dress, a surreally inarticulate argot, spasmodic forms of dance, casual sex, aggressive merchandizing of everything under and above the sun - seem like a script for a Fellini version of "Love Story". Pop culture, with all its energetically contrived mysteries, vulgarities and pretensions, is only extraordinary fun to the young. Pontifications on its revolutionary import always seem a bit ridiculous.

What does it all mean? Does it mean anything? Adults experience dismay because they cannot communicate and are often even objects of humour or disdain. The young feel thwarted because they meet disapproval and misunderstanding from their parents and other adults. Such is the traditional generation gap. But it is only a pallid reflection of the real undercurrent. Popular youth culture becomes the content of much youthful dissent. Sometimes, it involves deliberate play-acting, a put-on of the technological perspective and its institutional proponents. But, to the extent style-consciousness and role-playing shade over into a serious questioning of the young's own identity and social role, it leads them into an appreciation of the new sensibility with all its cataclysmic implications.

For example, calculated shabbiness and mod exhibitionism in dress are, in many cases, another example of the conspicuous consumption the young say they abhor.

1. For a fuller analysis see Arnold Rockman's study Youth, Media and the Arts, a report submittted to the Committee on Youth, June 1970.

But as an act of defiance, the dress of the young has some implications. Often, such clothing and long hair are a badge of recognition, facilitating contacts and improving horizontal communication among the young. At the same time, it often exposes them to harassment by police and other adults. For both these reasons, fashions in dress tend to strengthen youthful solidarity in opposition to adult society.

We may speculate that the clothing charade is also an exercise in personal growth. As the young change from style to style, they try on different identities, often experiencing profoundly these new personae. To the extent their defiance, solidarity and identity-changes pass beyond charades, they too involve them in the processes of growth required by their antitechnological vision of reality.

Another example of a pop cultural symbol with real consequence is the pop festival. Publishers sell newspapers and parents acquire ulcers by fulminating about the frenzy, freakiness, dope, nudity, unsanitary conditions, sex, and damage to tourism that they associate with pop festivals. Notwithstanding all this public concern, the young generally have an ecstatic time at these concerts.

What happens at such concerts? Masses of young persons come together where music, free-form dancing and the generous sharing of just about everything generate an overpowering sense of community and liberation. Many concerts become, quite simply, a collective opportunity for the expression of youthful exuberance - a celebration of life. The Committee's material on pop festivals held in Canada shows much less physical damage and much less harmful criminal activity (the aggressiveness of drunks versus the passivity of stoned kids) than that associated with most Grey Cup Festivals. Prohibition of pop festivals is, at best, an absurdity; at worst, an exercise in oppression.

The Committee, in light of the findings of Chapter II, would hesitate to proclaim the success of the sexual revolution. The exploitation of sex in the media and the young's communal ethic often leads to, at least, a verbal acceptance of the "free love" tenets. At the same time - particularly in urban areas - young persons increasingly find alternative sources of information about sex. They can experiment with a certain impunity. "Free love", interpreted as "permissiveness", sets many parental teeth on edge. To many parents, the liberation of sexual mores brings a devaluation of something exceedingly precious, which should only be shared with a spouse. Prolonged childhood exposure to the more general adult prohibition may still make the young feel somewhat guilty; but, even so, they still tend to regard the parental view as a "hang-up". To many young persons, sex is an intensely human experience which involves no devaluation of the body. As an emotionally risky, direct experiencing of reality, it engages them sometimes in the processes of growth required by their own sensibility. In this sense, then, the young have expanded the meaning of sex, and, at the same time, freed its expression from restraint.

Through the peer-group, the new mufti, their attitude towards sex and the powerful sense of community generated by pop festivals, the young involve themselves in the process of growth which encourages a growing appreciation of communal values and an increasing suspicion of the goals, structures and cosmology of technological society.

In this process, pop music is the most pervasive - and perhaps the most powerful - force. This music, a major contributor to the sense of community at pop festivals and massively exploited by the communication industry, reaches every young person in Canada. Through records, radio and television, it is inescapably present throughout technological society. The energies of its rhythms and the messages in its lyrics form much of the content of popular youth culture.

Written by a Canadian folk-singer to celebrate the greatest pop festival of them all, Joni Mitchell's song, "Woodstock", outlines many of the perceptions and emotions associated with this culture:

I came upon a child of God,
He was walking along the road,
And I asked him,
Where are you going?
This he told me:
I'm going down to Yasgurs Farm
Gonna join in a rock and roll band,
And try an' get my soul free.
We are stardust, we are golden,
And we got to get ourselves
Back to the garden.

Then can I walk beside you?
I have come here to lose the smog,
And I feel to be a cog in something twining.
Maybe it is just the time of year
Or maybe it's the time of man,
I don't know who I am,
But life is for learning.
We are stardust, we are golden,
And we got to get ourselves
Back to the garden.

By the time we got to Woodstock
We were half-a-million strong,
And everywhere there was song and celebration,
And I dreamed I saw the bombers
Riding shotgun in the sky,
Turning into butterflies
Above our nation.

We are stardust, billion-year-old carbon,
We are golden
We are caught in the devil's bargain,
And we got to get ourselves
Back to the garden.[2]

One of 1971's most popular songs, "Woodstock", is playing to a far different audience than that described by sociological analyses of teen-age music 15 years ago. To them, the "rating and dating complex" defined the horizons of the young. But this song communicates a profound sense of youthful community in opposition to the entrapment, poison and calculated killing implicit in the existing system. Overlying this social and political perspective is a fabric of religious symbolism in which the young person is a "child of God" and technological society little more than satanic. In listening to this song, the young participate in the value and reality of the new sensibility or, at the very least, acquire a sense of community both exhilarating and strangely serene.

However, if "Woodstock" presents the peaceful side of the young metaphysic, the Rolling Stones' "Street Fighting Man" communicates its nascent violence:

Everywhere I hear the sound
Of marching, charging feet, Oh, Boy.
'Cause the summer's here
And the time is ripe
For fighting in the street, Oh, Boy.
What can a poor boy do
Except to sing for a Rock'N'Roll Band
'Cause in sleepy London town
There's been no place for street fighting man! No!

Hey! Think the time is right
For a Palace Revolution.
But where I live the game to play
Is Compromise Solution!

Hey! Said my name
Is called Disturbance.
I'll shout and scream, I'll Kill the king
I'll rail at all his servants.[3]

In terms of popularity, the Rolling Stones were perhaps the only singing group comparable to the Beatles during the sixties. Many of their songs, like this one, are explicitly violent, both in their words and their high-energy, hard driving rhythms. The song neatly crystallizes the impatience and violence of frustrated youth. Implicit in its lyrics is the belief that only insurrection can make the new sensibility a reality. In "sleepy London town," singer Mick Jagger finds solace by joining a rock and roll band. Not every young person is Mick Jagger. Certainly, a minority of youth, isolated within the rigid framework of existing institutions, would agree with what the song ambivalently recommends.

In terms of popular youth culture, it would be an exaggeration to say that the large majority of the young find in this song anything other than entertainment, excitement and a peculiar appropriateness to a violent time. The Stones are exhilarating, sexy and relevant; but Joni Mitchell has the more congenial vision - and a more feasible aspiration for the time being.

Religion

Traditional religions are less and less a positive socializing force upon Canadian youth. They may, in some cases, prompt strong, negative reactions - especially when organized religions stifle youth's desire for meaningful, socially relevant experiences.

It is precisely those young persons who, in their effort to achieve psychological unity within the churches, find organized religion most frustrating and negative. Rigid dogma or flexible irrelevance offers little satisfaction. They point to the discrepancy between the total commitment of Christ and the weekly spiritual ablutions of a prosperous middle class. But these traditionally committed youth constitute a minority; the majority could not care less.

It would, of course, be wrong to portray all members of Canadian churches as rigid, unresponding hierarchs who see religion only as a weekly spiritual fix. Throughout Canada, many clerics and laymen are trying to make church services more relevant to young persons by using folk and rock music or pursuing contemporary themes in their sermons. Others try to create an informal atmosphere where the minister can converse casually with younger church-goers. Although they reflect a basic concern with the individual's role within the church, these experiments mainly benefit the existing congregation.

Some churches innovate more boldly. At the local level, some ministers and priests try to redefine the relationship of the church to the community. They see the function of the church as something beyond a spiritual service to the regular congregation. Many try to make the church reach out into the community to those who need help, spiritual or otherwise. Some try to transform auxiliary

2. "Woodstock" words and music by Joni Mitchell—© 1969. Reprinted by the kind permission of the publisher, Siquomb Publishing Corp.

3. "Street Fighting Man", Copyright—© 1968 Abkco Music Inc. Written by Mick Jagger and Keith Richards. All Rights Reserved. Used by Permission. International Copyright Secured.

church space into meeting places where young persons can hold dances or have informal discussions about things that trouble them. From counselling efforts, some move on to providing essential services like drop-in or drug treatment centres. A few ministers even become involved in political action. Whether deliberate or not, the thrust of their efforts is towards a fundamental redefinition of the role of the church within society.

Even though the majority of young persons remain unaffected by traditional religion, they do not deny a divine principle. Often, they see some spiritual dimension as a countervailing force to annihilating materialism of twentieth century North America.

The Family

The family as a socializing agent has both marked advantages and disadvantages in comparison to churches. The very intensity of the family relationship makes it both forceful and unpredictable in its effects. It may make children duplicates of their parents. Or it may transform them into photographic negatives of everything for which their parents stand. It may also drive them away from home to experiment with completely new life-styles. Ultimately, it may prompt young persons to return home and attempt to re-educate their parents. These, of course, are the extremes. To understand the broad range of family interaction, we must examine it within the whole context of society.

However, we can begin with one generalization. If anything characterizes their relationship, it is the sharp break between the perspectives of young persons and their parents. Some would say this conflict stems only from a gap in experience, knowledge and wisdom. Time will bridge it, they assert, by forcing the adolescent to accept the existing norms of adult life.

Such a concept, although perhaps reassuring, is clearly too simplistic. No doubt, a "normal" gap occurs when the child perceives his parents' failure to wed theory and reality. But the presence, number, variety and strength of alternative models widen this gap. In the past two decades, these alternative models have been coming with unprecedented intensity. Schools, universities, youth groups, jobs, the media, all shoot a maelstrom of models at adolescents. These conflict with each other and with those presented by parents. In the resultant confusion, it is not surprising that young persons assume a more critical posture towards their parents than they have in the past. Many parents, shaped by the economic and emotional insecurity of the Depression and Second World War, narrowly define their goals for their children. They see a good education as the precursor of a good job and, finally, economic security. Their children, accustomed to abundance in most cases, do not highly value these objectives. Rather, many find school tediously irrelevant and their fathers' jobs unimaginably debilitating. Often, their fathers would agree with this evaluation. The dissonance between the average parental goals for children and the parents' own every-day frustration hardly adds force to parental directives.

These goals are also less relevant today than they were in the thirties and forties. Young persons see even the most skilled persons doing increasingly repetitive, unsatisfying labour. Across Canada, but more particularly in less developed regions, the young may learn that the education which their parents value is next to useless in getting them a job. In many cases, other alternatives are more attractive. Ultimately, the pace of technological advance creates new imperatives - ones which require basic adjustments, not economic, but social in the largest sense. Young persons, exposed to an intensely technological society since birth, sense this need for change.

A study sheds some light on certain aspects of this conflict.[4] Attitudes of adolescents and their parents in Vancouver were surveyed. The adolescents were selected as being hip and non-hip in relation to 11 attitudinal variables. At the same time, the parents of these two groups were remarkably homogeneous. The most striking finding was that differences in attitude between parents and adolescents far outweighed the disparities between the hip and non-hip. In other words, these young persons, although exceedingly diverse, differ from their parents to a greater degree than they do among themselves.

4. Beckman, Lanning. The Hip Adolescent, his Family and the Generation Gap. A report submitted to the Committee on Youth. June 1970.

Education

As the family has struggled to adapt, educational institutions have expanded in size, influence and scope. Not only do more young persons spend longer in school than ever before, more drop out. This paradox reflects the very mixed blessings of education in our highly urbanized society.

In our industrial society, it is claimed that the aim of schooling is to create economically useful skills and norms which support the existing system. These norms include the valuing of work as a means to personal betterment, and status aspirations in the area of jobs and possessions. In many ways, these goals are those of the family. However, the school also leads to challenges of family authority. These vary with certain conditions.

In poorer, rural or less developed environments, the expansion of the school system has many consequences. The student may come to despise both his father's job and his family's life-style. In an economically depressed environment, the young person may find the skills he has acquired in school will not win him a job. Thus, in these areas, the school only raises aspirations which the community cannot fulfil. But this conflict is only one area of mutual frustration. Increased school consolidation promotes the breakdown of peer groups. The consolidation of rural schools not only removes the young person for eight hours a day from his home environment, but also the transportation techniques require that school extra-curricular activities are minimized.

As education becomes a massive organizational effort, its structure becomes more rigid, hierarchical, directive and articulated. The students sees his life as increasingly regulated by remote authorities. This fact contradicts the myth spread by school authorities that education is a large and open pursuit of knowledge. Such an activity, the student soon realizes, would require freedom for non-directive, unstructured experimentation. Also this induced desire for knowledge - attractive because it can aid youth's efforts at self-definition - ultimately contradicts the narrowly economic objectives of traditional education. The acquisition of specialized skills, the acceptance of the work ethic and the assimilation of status aspirations have little to do with this basic quest for knowledge and education.

Even if the student accepts these traditional directions, he will not feel confident in his choice when he sees unemployed or under-employed BA's, MA's and PhD's. If he analyzes his parent's job or those of his friends who have graduated, he will see that work to them is repetitive, alienating, essentially unsatisfying. Available alternatives are a reality only for a minority; the majority stay in school. The school environment certainly acts sometimes as a positive socializing force. Often, its effect is negative. Most frequently, there is an interplay between school authorities and young persons demanding greater freedom, better courses and more control within educational institutions. These demands, as they grow in scope and intensity, generally meet with resistance from teachers, school boards, professors and administrators. The new imperatives are threats to their authority and the goals they value. At the beginning all initiative and responsibility rests with the administration, management and teachers. The students' desire to contribute to the school's organization gives rise to the appearance of student's councils at the class level which in turn leads to school councils, federations, confederations and finally, a certain form of student union.

Generally, students hope to effect desired changes within the school or clarify their thinking about their own roles in Canadian society. If their experience has been one of idealistic onslaught upon immovable institutions, such re-evaluation may occur in an atmosphere of uncompromising hostility to established institutions.

Educational change is difficult - particularly when student demands raise basic questions about the entire schooling system. Innovators cannot help but collide with obstacles when they raise similar questions. For, when both try to give students a significant part in the teaching process and administration of schools, they are asserting a new, more powerful role for the student in the educational process. When students, teachers and principals bring critical social issues into the curriculum and open school buildings to the community, they are defining a new relationship between the educational process and society. If their treatment of social issues and their involvement in the community reaches a certain level of radicalism, then they are raising fundamental questions about the nature of society.

Employment

Employment is of prime importance in many young persons' lives, even for those who do not have financial problems. Either they enter the labour market permanently or, as students, seek summer work to pay for their education. Entering the labour market is, under the rules of our social system, an objective which provides the prime justification for the education system.

The word "work" carries a heavy moral and emotional significance. As the touchstone of Weber's Protestant ethic, it is a means to individual betterment. As a selfless contribution to our society, it is the individual's social obligation. As an indication of status, it is a means of self-definition. As a source of money, it is the self-sacrifice which precedes abundance and freedom.

But no one can realize the promise of work with-

out a job. The current slowdown in the country's economy is causing a disturbingly high rate of unemployment in the entire labour force. Unemployment of a disproportionate percentage of their peers is an even more agonizing reality for young workers and students. Despite their own efforts and the help of existing services they are increasingly less successful in finding work which will ensure them a position in life, some measure of satisfaction, and a feeling that they are contributing to the development of society. A statistical analysis of youth on the labour market eloquently reveals the acuteness of this problem during both economic upswings and downswings.[5]

Government action to help the unemployed is now quite legitimate, even expected. Young persons, too, anticipate a helping hand. Often their expectations plummet as a result of the response. Canada Manpower Centres are preceived as being notoriously ineffective in their relations with the young.[6] Certain retraining programmes have been so useless they seem more diversionary tactics than serious efforts to create opportunities for youth. Many young persons recognize these failures and conclude there is little economic dynamism - or even compassion - at the national level.

Given the central importance of work in Canadian culture, unemployment sends psychological shock-waves resounding through the young person's mind. Deprived of work in a society which values work, they feel trapped in a cumulative downward spiral. It winds through deep feelings of inferiority to the destruction of self-confidence to a sense of futility to profound depression. Ultimately, it may end in sporadic violence or a general, often enduring, deterioration of the human being. If this despair becomes articulated and collectively felt, its implications are revolutionary.

Worker mobility is also an essential feature of any modern economic system. In Canada, many young workers and university graduates try to move from areas where the economy is shaky. But those who leave - for example, youth from the Maritime region - experience an uprooting which disorients and disturbs. Yet they may be luckier than the ones who stay behind. Young persons, with too little money to move or too strong an attachment to familiar surroundings, face an even more difficult situation. Their sense of frustration and futility frequently annihilates their self-confidence.

Work carries such an imperative in Canadian society that some still regard the unemployed as lazy or worthless. The very prosperity of today's society gives rise to the false inference that anyone can get a job if he tries. But the individual has little control over his job as well as his work. Employers, unions, government and the economic system define its structures, boundaries and even availability. Jobs exist only within the complex and dynamic interplay of large institutions.

Employers' attitudes towards young employees and decisions about their destiny play a large role. Many employers, their views shaped by the stereotyping of the media think young persons do not want to work. In fact, most do - although not always for strictly monetary goals.

Young persons with jobs face serious difficulties, usually ignored by adult society. The fortunate minority have jobs as professionals, managers or office clerks. But employers arrange jobs in vertical hierarchies down which pass irrevocable orders. Because they believe efficiency demands specialization, employers delineate job boundaries narrowly. Young employees at this level often find their creativity and initiative stifled and their function an insignificant part of a meaningless whole. A good salary is not always a consolation.

Without experience, seniority or unions to defend their rights, many young persons are also the last hired and first fired. The low rate of unionization among young workers means that they have lower wages and less help in defending their rights. Even if young workers join unions, they are often too naive about their operations to fight for their own interests.

This basic concept of work in our culture often produces a bitter polarization between young persons

5. See the data of Chapter I.
6. See analysis on Manpower placement services in Chapter VII.

and adults. Although most young persons recognize the limitations in the structures and boundaries of jobs, many experience revulsion at the economic motivation for work. They also question their own involvement in the processes of quantitative change with all its destructive implications for human beings and the natural environment. It is not that they do not want to work. They do want to work but not in a tightly circumscribed environment where the accumulation of money is a primary factor. In other words, they are opposed to the confines of a job, rather than to the concept of work. They want to perform meaningful services for other human beings in such areas as community action, mass culture and conservation.

Adults in charge of economic institutions stick rigidly to their narrow definitions of jobs within authoritarian structures. When young persons see job goals, structures and boundaries confine them, their initiatives become more radical or they sink into a lethargy which denies the constructiveness of any job in our society. Many employers are already facing difficulties because young persons unable to find satisfaction in their jobs quickly move on to something else. Whatever happens, the traditional job, frozen into the forms of the past, may not be able to contain their aspirations or find new incumbents to continue its function.

Although this prognosis may be overly pessimistic, institutional change in the employment area is now more nominal than real. This is not surprising since young persons are asking basic questions about the very nature of the job within society. By asserting the value of the generalist, dismissing the relevance of economic gain, demanding collective decision-making and emphasizing the importance of creativity, they are fundamentally re-defining the job and the individual's role within the employing organization. By demanding a greater involvement by employers in pollution-fighting and social animation, they are declaring their own awareness of alternative relationships between their job and the larger community. By questioning the imperatives of economic efficiency and expressing concern for the poor and unemployed, they are expressing a critical concern about the very nature of our society. The job must not just benefit its incumbent or his employer. It must benefit the community as a whole. If the concept of work is central to Canadian society, so are young person's efforts to redefine it in the light of the entire community's needs.

The Media

If the media has a larger, over-all purpose, it is to reflect accurately the nature of Canadian society. Its official goal is to provide the public with what it wants in entertainment and with what it has the right to know in news. These goals and purposes are straightforward and simple, proper for what some writers call the "central nervous system" of a highly urbanized society.

However, the messages which the media convey provide a fragmented and contradictory vision. These fragments are coming at young persons faster and faster in greater and greater quantities. Although the very volume of information can be disorienting and confusing, it also stimulates a profound concern. Certain patterns in this outpouring of information are visible.[7]

Many messages, both implicit and explicit, point to the real discrepancies in well-being, power and communications potential of women in relation to men, the young in relation to adults, blacks in relation to whites, French-speaking Canadians in relation to English-speaking Canadians, all Canadians in relation to Americans, and so on. The media also makes young persons aware of alternative life styles and new forms of political action only a short time after they have emerged. Many of the messages support the interpretations of reality offered by existing institutions. If anything, these fortify the directions passed on by the family, the church, the school, the job and the political system. Such messages predominate in the content of the mass media, along with the imperatives of mass consumption. On the other hand, the very chaos of the messages throw a certain doubt upon this dominant theme.

In learning the models of desirable institutions and roles, the young must cope with the essential artificiality of the media experience. Although the alternatives may seem attractive, the institutional framework to support such experiments is often not present in the areas where they live. If a framework exists, then there is a quick, satisfying spread of these alternatives from one group of young persons to another. Models for behaviour rapidly become universal. The artificiality of the media experience also comes into play. In relatively depressed, less modernized regions, young persons lack the social, economic, and political institutions or even the psychological space to realize their aspirations. The same occurs in metropolitan centres where the intensity of communications has raised their aspirations even higher in relation to the means of realization.

We still know very little about how different media and art forms work in the lives of individuals, still less about their effect on whole societies. Different media seem to vary in their appearance of authority and reality in different situations and for different social groups. Academics, for example, are prone to saying that they believe something printed in a scholarly journal more than something said by a person appearing on the TV or movie screen.

7. A fuller analysis of this topic is contained in Arnold Rockman's Study, *op. cit.*

Whether they actually do so is another question. It is not without interest that a person looking for an academic post is likely to be more successful if he has acquired a TV reputation. Being seen *and* heard by large national audiences seems the best way to strengthen a personal or social identity.

Some people's identities are probably strengthened through participation in mass media either through the organization or the sending of messages, while other persons, who never get a chance to either organize or send messages, may experience a weakening or deprivation of their identity.

What of the claims of Canadian groups who only recently have been represented in the mass media with an appearance of equality and dignity? The old, the very young, the Eskimo, the Indian, the Newfoundlander, the Black from Nova Scotia? In the recent past we Canadians have used a very simple device for telling ourselves that "we don't have social, racial, and ethnic problems as in the U.S." We have simply ignored these groups by not talking about them in our media and by not letting them participate in programmes where they can be seen and heard across the nation in prime time.

If this proposition holds true for the acquisition and reinforcement of national identity as well, then at present there is reason for grave concern about the sense of Canadian identity acquired by the young. Our mass media are largely filled with programmes produced by American networks or modelled on them. It makes no difference whether the broadcasting stations are located on Canadian or American soil, or whether the stations in Canada are part of the private or the public network. Most of the available programming for most Canadians consists of non-Canadian material, and most of this material incorporates American middle-class values. The media situation in Canada is nothing less than a subliminal psychic invasion, which constitutes a foreign infiltration in many ways much more effective than any type of imperialism practiced before the rise of the electronic mass media. The new imperialism works through "Bonanza" and omnipresent commercials - it's the real thing . . .

In these circumstances, a sense of crisis and pervasive fluidity characterizes the young person's view of reality. The media's portrayal of society is not entirely reassuring by any means. In Yeats' words, the centre does not seem to hold. The influence of other institutions, which have more direct action, suffers a certain erosion. The young today are the first generation to experience media bombardment before the family, church and school could firmly fix their own version of reality in the minds of young persons.

Some young persons react with bewilderment to this confusion of conflicting messages. More find distasteful the imperatives of existing institutions and the dominant themes of the mass media. But, given the plethora of contradictory messages, it is difficult for them to comprehend this environment - more so, when this environment is a multidimensional puzzle, whose parts, if its makers have their way, come together in a lie. For this reason - among others - young persons often opt for alternatives, reacting against both traditional socializers and the media's contradictions.

At the same time, the very fragmentation and simultaneity of the media experience have a peculiarly positive impact. If McLuhan is right, young persons, raised on television since childhood, find inadequate the vertical, rational, linear forms of their parents. The techniques of logic cannot define a maelstrom of instantaneously imploding fragments. Similarly, with a television in every home, every young person experiences events at the same time as his peers. Information no longer comes down a vertical chain of command. As a result young persons are initiated into the spectacular treatment of everything; new forms of sensitivity, new dynamics, instantaneity, the breakdown of distances, a sense of horizontal interdependence and of the casual multi-linearity of things. If youth can define themselves in relation to their society, it is often through these new forms. It is not surprising that they are asking basic questions about the media's role in Canadian society.

Finally, when young persons demand to speak for themselves within their own formats, they are questioning the present, passive role of the individual in relation to the media. When they attack the imperative for professionalism in the media, they are advocating a new role for those who work within the industry. When they point to inequalities in the media's treatment of certain groups, they are defining a new function for the media and raising basic questions about the nature of the Canadian mosaic.

Drugs

The disintegrating relationship between the law and the young revolves around one painful issue - drugs. Most adults believe there is something harmful about soft drugs, such as marijuana or hashish. Medical evidence to the contrary is unconvincing and comes from persons youth do not trust. The young compare present attitudes towards drugs to past condemnations of alcoholic beverages and cigarettes. Most regard soft drugs as a source of harmless euphoria, a stimulus to psychic experimentation, an escape from an increasingly complex repressive society or all of these.[8]

The basis for youthful curiosity about drugs is very complex. It finds its basis in the rigidity of social institutions, psychological turmoil, a more experimental cast of

8. Much information on this topic is contained in *Drugs and Drug Culture,* a report submitted to the Committee on Youth, June 1970.

mind, the legitimizing effects of the media, the dramatic principle in pop culture, and the very human aspirations of the new sensibility.

If alienated and unhappy, the young person may find drugs a pleasant escape. If experimental in psychological orientation, he may see drugs as a new experience which draws on the deep affective layers of his personality. Usually, both of these operate together. But psychological explanations for drug use among the young are quite inadequate.

It is necessary to examine the interplay between pop culture, the media and the new sensibility; psychedelia are an essential component of popular youth culture. Indeed, when the media produces anything oriented towards youth, they exploit psychedelia. The use of these symbols by the "establishment" media gives drugs a certain legitimacy, even an attractiveness.

But the young are not just the passive recipients of what the media implicitly prescribe. Popular youth culture requires the exuberant assumption of many colorful roles - particularly those which will trouble the more conventional. Drugs, the alleged conveyers of mystical awareness, allow the young to play at archetypes. And, of course, such play is, for many, fun; for others it is the reclamation of the sense of adventure in a monotonous environment. In our interviews, a small number insisted that drug-induced alterations of reality provided "mystical insights" or non-technological visions of reality. To these young people, the use of drugs subverts technological reality in the name of humanity.

Generally, the first drugs with which the young person will experiment are marijuana or hashish. Whether a person goes on to harder drugs - ranging from mescaline to LSD to speed to heroin - depends on a complicated array of factors. Most young persons, however, are quite content with the two soft drugs. They realize many of the others can be dangerous both mentally and physically. But the effects of marijuana and hashish seem harmless, pleasurable and even useful. And so, after the first experiment, most young persons try them again.

The Committee knows of no compelling evidence that marijuana or hashish are physically addictive.[9] Occasionally, psychological dependency can occur but, generally, this grows out of a particular individual's emotional make-up. Soft drugs are relatively harmless or, at least, so they seem, in the absence of any conclusive medical evidence to the contrary.

9. See E. Goode, "Multiple Drug Use Among Marijuana Smokers", *Social Problems,* vol. 17, 1969, pp. 48-64; L. Grinspoon, "Marihuana", *Scientific American,* vol. 221, 1969, pp. 1-9; A. T. Weil, "Canabis", *Science Journal,* vol. 6, 1969, pp. 36-42; D. E. Smith, *The New Social Drug,* 1970; and *Interim Report* of the Commission of Inquiry into the Non-Medical Use of Drugs (LeDain Commission), 1970.

Many young persons would agree that both amphetamines and opiates are as physically addictive as they are physically and mentally destructive. But this belief undergoes erosion when adult society fails to distinguish between hard and soft drugs. Some groups of young persons come to doubt all official views of drugs, amend their own suspicions of hard drugs and recklessly satisfy their natural curiosity about the different experiences offered by such drugs. Other young persons, aware of the harmlessness of the soft drugs, are completely ignorant of the effects of hard drugs. A favourite point raised by opponents of drug use is that soft drugs inevitably lead to harder drugs. It is a tragic irony of Canadian society that the indiscriminate condemnation of all drug use is the major factor in producing what its articulators most fear - the use of damaging hard drugs.

But for those young persons who do not accept drugs as a panacea - and they are many - the reality of youthful arrests for drug offenses confirms many suspicions:

—laws are drafted to curtail pleasurable, non-harmful activities;

—laws are applied discriminately against the disadvantaged, e.g., the "visible" suspect - young, long-hair, and funny clothes, habituating the city core or pop festivals - ergo, dope fiend;

—law enforcement officers utilize unethical methods - harassment, surveillance, unannounced raids, paid informers, and the deliberate use of *agents provocateurs*;

—the government condones, makes legal, and expedites the unethical behaviour listed above;

—the law is not uniformly enforced against all sections of society, e.g., the middle-class enclaves (suburbia, universities) are often immune sanctuaries;

—judges are not uniform in their treatment of offenders;

—youth who can acquire the necessary legal assistance can get a better break;

—police arrest the youthful "pusher" who sells harmless soft drugs to his friends, while ignoring organized criminals who sell dangerous, hard drugs on a mass scale;

—the adult community publicly supports all the above-mentioned factors despite its own utilization of drugs commercially and privately;

—school administrators are involved in police activities;

—the young can trust no one, especially authority figures.

All these are suspicions which the young see validated daily. They are constant themes in conversations with young people. The fact that they form a pattern of perception by the young of our country is a matter for grave concern. If a whole generation sees a law justified only by the fact of it being a law, will they then conclude that drug offences are political persecution, that consumption is a

political act? Will that generation further conclude that all laws must be regarded skeptically and obeyed reluctantly? Will then the consumption of drugs which their peers tell them is pleasurable and non-harmful and which is so vigorously eschewed by adults become one more reason to pursue antithetical norms and values in the development of their own life-styles and goals?

As youth identifies more clearly with its own group, the play-acting of popular culture moves to a fuller appreciation of the anti-technological vision of reality. Occasionally, they see its application in social or political action against the existing system. Sometimes, of course, their increased communal sense becomes a force which isolates them from the rest of society. In this state, they retain the humane values of the new sensibility, but sink into an articulate and bitter cynicism about our society. This angry withdrawal can lead to the taking of more and harder drugs; or, in the long run, it can erupt in sporadic violence, as they try desperately to bring about changes they deem necessary. Even many young persons who do not take drugs share, although with less intensity, in this range of critical reaction to the application of drug laws.

In retaining the laws against soft drugs, Canadian society is exacerbating rather than curbing a fixed social phenomenon. Drugs, whether one likes it or not, have become one of popular youth culture's unifying symbols.

Leisure

Just as the idea of work has many meanings, so does its opposite - leisure. If work is a means to personal betterment, a necessity for self-definition, it also provides the money to finance leisure. Of course, the relationship between leisure and work is reciprocal. Relaxation renews the will to work. Often, leisure implies the freedom to do what one wants without a boss or shop foreman. Paradoxically, this freedom is subject to severe limitations. Frequently, it entails a constructive hobby or a well-structured social activity. The reason for this contradictory restriction upon leisure activities is the centrality of work in our culture. Leisure is too close to idleness. If the work ethic still holds compelling sway in Canada, leisure is but its poor, slightly unrespectable half-brother.

This contradiction in our conceptions of leisure becomes most obvious in the messages transmitted to the young about recreation. Many of the young, critical of constricting work and school environments, are told that these are necessary antecedents to the freedom they value. At the same time, adult attitudes towards the young's desire for leisure seem to reflect the old adage "idle hands are the devil's tools". This belief springs from a view of youth as a

temporary malleable state during which wicked influences can prevail. Many adults, consciously or unconsciously structuring their own free time so vigorously, are even more suspicious of the freedom the young demand.

This suspicion underlies the philosophy of most institutions which offer recreational opportunities to youth. The proffered recreation resides in a tight container of schedules, rules and competitive practices. There is little room for communal experimentation - the objective many young persons have in mind when they demand leisure. In most voluntary organizations, adults structure and control programmes based on concepts of organizations and activities incompatible with youthful aspirations.[10] Although some voluntary associations give the young control of certain projects to ensure independent cultural experimentation, these are exceptions. Most of the provincial governments and their departments (where these exist) proudly set up constricting recreation programmes to combat idleness. The federal government's involvement in the past constituted support of highly structured programmes: more recently they have begun to fund more innovative cultural and recreational activities.

Traditionally, sports and artistic activities have been the two main leisure occupations. Of these, existing institutions with the help of the media promote the former

10. See the analysis of voluntary youth organizations in Chapter IV.

far more. In spite of this promotion, the Canada Games, the Commonwealth Games, the well-publicized preparations for the 1976 Olympics and the broad popularity of professional sports, sports are less attractive to young persons. In most cases, their domination by adults, their competitiveness and the near-martial discipline they require are unappealing to many young persons. As a result, young persons often do not use the athletic facilities set up for them. Of course, many of the young still enjoy certain sports, but their preference is for individual, non-competitive sports, and even more would choose artistic activities. But official encouragement and facilities for these activities are scarce.

Young persons' demands for the creative use of leisure place a new emphasis on the freedom of the individual or group to do what he or it wants outside of work. This redefinition can give the individual client a more dominant role in relation to the organizations which supply recreational opportunities. Young people's desire to use their free time to examine themselves and experience in a fundamental way new environments points to a new positive relationship between leisure and social change. At the same time, the frustration young persons face from adults, recreational institutions and - especially - the police, isolate them from the levers of change, but make them more critical of existing political and social arrangements.

Young persons idealize the freedom and adventure of a trip. Often caused by the lack of jobs at home, it is frequently a forced holiday. The travel of today's young has a romantic intensity and sharp interior dimension. These qualities are reinforced through a need for constant improvisation caused by the lack of financial resources and magnified by the use of soft drugs. It is not a trip to a fixed destination, but an on-going process of becoming.

Unfortunately, the facilities for young travellers with little money leave a lot to be desired. In many municipalities there is no place for young persons to stay cheaply. In others, hostel regulations restrict the freedom they desire. To the extent these services, conceived by cautious adults, have rigid, clearly defined, formal structures young persons will avoid them. Even the federal government's 1970 hostel programme was only a small step in the right direction. Transient youth, often unkempt, sometimes carrying drugs, usually with little money and none of the usual tourist trappings, provoke strong reactions in many Canadian municipalities.[11]

Political and Social Action

The political system offers few outlets for the frustration of youth. Most young persons learn very little in school about how it works. If anything, they are taught a very idealized view of democracy which states that the people have the power to determine their own destiny. From this perspective, the actual complexities of the political system are often disillusioning.

Most of Canadian society's political structures - whether municipal, provincial or federal - seem rigid and essentially unresponsive to the requests of the public or the aspirations of the young. Elections seem an unwieldly carousel of speeches, handshakes and political advertising which are about as relevant as they are sincere. As a result, many young persons deem the vote meaningless.

Even innovative federal programmes have little impact in many communities. Because so little information filters down from Ottawa, most young persons do not know programmes for them exist and certainly nothing about how they operate. They do not even know where to get this information. Thus, study and criticism of the programmes are out of the question. In these circumstances, they join many adults in feeling isolated from a political system which operates quite outside their control.

A minority of young persons take part in community action programmes. Their efforts to raise basic questions about community interests and political power usually receive only marginal support from adults and governments. The few daring and successful programmes initiated by provincial and federal governments are only the exceptions which prove the rule. The representative pattern is that of the CYC. Radical innovation occurs, at the municipal, provincial or federal levels, frightens its sponsors and other governments, and becomes painfully circumscribed by

11. See the analysis of voluntary organizations in Chapter IV.

the men at the top. Reformers within these institutions find themselves caught in an ambiguous position. Loyalty to their superiors wars with the needs of their clients. Depending on the rigidity of their superiors, and their own orientations, they may acquiesce, compromise or quit - leaving their employers less able to adapt to new realities.

Young persons, when they demand a larger role for the citizen in political decision-making, are defining a new, more participative role for the individual in the democratic process. If political institutions remain rigid, the resulting sweeping criticisms are directed at the Canadian political system. With rigidity comes the individual's isolation from the source of power and the inability to generate change peacefully. With isolation comes a despair about the future, a loss of hope, dangerous in its articulation.

Many young persons are not content with just radical innovation in education. Their aim is to provide essential services for the ignored youth population in large urban centres. In doing so, their activities sometimes expand into direct challenges to existing political and economic organizations. This, however, is not always the case.

Across Canada, there is an incredible diversity in the kind of services operated by youth for young persons. These include everything from drug treatment, crisis intervention, medical help, legal aid and counselling. These operations are completely client-oriented, and their structures are such as to provide no protection for any volunteer or employee without that orientation. Informal, unstructured, non-directive and horizontally organized, they often do not permit their employees to assume the role of an expert vis-à-vis the client. Their structures are so fluid that the volunteer who does not relate on those terms soon quits or is out of a job.

One of the most popular facilities has become the drop-in centre. There, students, drop-outs, truants, young workers, the unemployed and the unemployable congregate to "rap", to share experiences, to compare the quality of the latest dope (rarely to use or market it on the premises), to devolve schemes for ecological rehabilitation or to engage in artistic ventures. The level of activity is usually low - whether "low-profile" in terms of political action or low-level in terms of artistic skills. A second technique which is sweeping the country - especially urban areas, church work, cogestion youth groups, and the academic community - is the sensitivity group. The message of both activities is clear: an integration of the person and his environment is demanded and actively being sought.

Some organizations run by youth try to act as a bridge between the adult and youth community. Examples are Cool Aid in Victoria; Project '70 in Toronto; and CRYPT in Winnipeg. They try to put young persons in contact with the voluntary organization or government agency relative to

their needs. In more hostile political environments, youth-run organizations which provide these services often can only fulfil their function by confronting local authorities. Vancouver's Cool Aid frequently falls into this category.

Some which have failed to meet their stated goals have had beneficial ancillary effects. Rochdale College may or may not be an exciting experimental educational venture and may or may not be a student co-operative residence. It did, nonetheless, house at its inception approximately 200 to 300 young people who could find no other shelter in the city of Toronto. (The founders of Digger House could not persuade city officials of the existence of these homeless people despite the physical evidence, nightly, in Yorkville and on city streets.) Indeed, one may speculate that it was Rochdale's provision of this service to the homeless, drug-oriented young of Yorkville which led to the replacement of the regular student population by a preponderance of "heads" with no commitment to either the education or residential objectives.

Young persons with a more activist orientation become involved in community projects. Again, they keep their organizations open, small, informal, unstructured, non-directive and client-oriented. One of their goals is often educational. They try to make tenants, welfare recipients, and the unemployed aware of their rights. They also try to direct these persons towards the relevant private organizations and government agencies. If their clients fail to get anywhere with large government organizations these young persons do not hesitate to organize demonstrations. Such protests are, occasionally, effective. Whatever happens, the ultimate aim of most youthful community workers is to make themselves dispensable by ensuring that their clients know their rights and can fight for them. These young persons are working out the social, economic and political implications of the human aspirations inherent in the new sensibility.

Conclusions

In the opinion of the Committee, the rapidity of technological change, the rapid increase in applied "technics", explosive urbanization resulting in larger and larger organizational units, the continuous stimulation of the mass psyche by the mass media, the increasing inability of industrial societies to supply non-stressful ways of life for their members, and the demonstrated incompetence of all political leaders to manage industrial economies so that life-chances will be more equally distributed throughout the population are all giving rise to a set of unique reactions. These negative objective and subjective features of modern industrial nations are making more and more people in all generations into psychic drop-outs, internal immigrants, lay participant-observers, and amateur anthropologists, all suffering from what Alvin Toffler has called "future shock"[12] (that is, by analogy with the "culture shock" which often shakes anthropologists who live in strange societies where the people define space, time, the universe and the minutes of everyday life in different terms from the way the anthropologist does in his home ground).

Especially in our metropolitan areas - Montreal, Toronto, Vancouver, Ottawa, Winnipeg - young people continually refer to adult occupations and public pursuits as a "rat race", a treadmill involving the endless repetition of meaningless tasks, work without merit and appeals for change without subsequent action. Young people of smaller cities and rural areas are no less critical, but couch their criticisms in terms of the futility of parental occupations, the lack of reward for farm labour, the failure to share in the "swinging good life" and the thinly-veiled hypocrisy of their parents' adherence to the work ethic while yearning for freedom from its repressive aspects.

Set against this is the re-awakening or emergence of new sensibilities among the youth population. They are demanding an integration of love, work and play.

Difficulties in evaluating this type of development are obvious. Daniel Bell wrote: "The most diffuse, but in the long run, the most disintegrating force in society is the new sensibility in American culture. The relationship between social structure and culture is perhaps the most complicated problem of all social analysis. A change in the economy or technology, constrained as these are by resources and costs, has a determinable time sequence in a society. But changes in expressive symbols and values, in statements about the meaning of experience and in codes for the guidance of behaviour - the dimensions of art and imagination are unconstrained. At times, as Ortega has said,

12. Toffler, Alvin. *Future Shock*. New York: Random House, 1970

they foreshadow the social reality of tomorrow because they are played out in the mind; but at times they remain only in the realm of the imagination. Thus it is difficult to spectify the exact consequences of experiments in sensibility."[13]

Traditionally, in Western society, outrage and dissent were usually prerogatives of the artist, who was regarded, by virtue of his criticism, as attacking society from a removed or superior vantage point. Today, however, we are witnessing what Karl Mannheim called the "democratization of genius": "The idea is that self-expression and self-fulfilment are open to all without regard for boundaries and limits. In the 'cult of experience' all realms of experience must be open and explored. Everything is under attack: authority, because no man is better than any other; the past, because learning tells us nothing; discipline and specialization, because they restrict experience."[14]

In youth's interest in drugs and in the quest for mind-expansion and extended awareness, a profound anti-intellectualism is added to the artist's traditional hatred of society's institutions and moralizing. No longer are "ideas", "texts" and "judgments" celebrated. The experience is valued over rationality. Education becomes not the transmission of learning but a search for "meaningful identity" to be gained by "dialogue, encounter, and confrontation."[15]

Of the writers in whom the young see confirmation of this new sensibility - Herbert Marcuse, Norman O. Brown, Hermann Hesse, R. D. Laing, Paul Goodman - Marshall McLuhan is probably the most relevant. "The medium is the message," "participation in depth", "the break-down of segmented, linear ways of thinking", "the electronic extensions of man", "the global village" all have been taken up as slogans by alienated youth.

We find expression of the new sensibility also in the proliferating encounter groups and in the New Left's commitment to social change, not through ideology, but through personal experience, involvement, openness, self-analysis, and greater sensitivity to others in the environment. How society will be affected by this revolution in sensibilities remains to be seen.

Some of the inchoate (incoherent) answers are already being signalled by the young who are forming all around the world a variety of counter-cultures for which they find legitimation in a bewildering variety of sources: Herbert Marcuse, Norman O. Brown, Hermann Hesse, Marshall McLuhan, R. D. Laing, Paul Goodman, Louis Riel, Joni Mitchell, Norman Bethune, Michel Chartrand, Gordon Lightfoot, Robert Charlebois, Mel Watkins, the Tao Te Ching, The New Testament, Lenny Bruce, Mao Tse Tung, Che Guevara, Pierre Vallières, Karl Marx (but only the young Marx), Buckminster Fuller, the Beatles, the Rolling Stones, Leonard Cohen, Tom Wolfe, Albert Camus, René Lévesque, Eldridge Cleaver, Abbie Hoffman, Jerry Rubin, Tom Hayden, Daniel Cohn-Bendit, Stanley Kubrick, and on and on and on.

It would be difficult to find a cultural theme common to all these people, cultural artifacts and events which at one time or another supply the master symbols around which youth cultures are now coalescing. But if we think in terms of polar opposites, (using as the "youth pole" many of the values common to the hip and non-hip youth described earlier) then the mélange of cultural symbols catalogued above begins to make sense.

—collective action directed from above v. "do your own thing";
—faith expressed through good works v. "existentialist" mystical insight;
—evolution v. revolution;
—large-scale, "technocratic" organization v. small-scale communal "humanist" groupings;
—doing v. being-becoming;
—action v. contemplation;
—belief in the status quo and its symbols of legitimacy v. rejection of the status quo and attempts to legitimate other cultural values;
—rational intellect v. emotion;
—verbal expression v. non-verbal expression;
—personal inhibition v. expression;
—hierarchy v. equality;
—"male" values v. "female" values;
—abstraction v. the sensory and the concrete.

In each of these opposed pairs, the first of these terms represents a strand of fully-authorized, legitimate, establishment, middle-class, "square", Western culture - the kind previous Canadians all grew up in and the one which has been around for at least five hundred years.

The second of these terms are all cultural threads and strands which have also been around for at least five hundred years in Western culture. First the Protestant Reformation and then the Industrial Revolution stressed the other values, but these "second terms" were practised by small numbers of people although never fully authorized by the dominant cultural elites of Western nation states. Without the first set of values, the West could not have reached its present level of material affluence. If the second set of values had not been kept alive, then the established cultures of the

13. Bell, Daniel. *"Quo Warranto?" The Public Interest.* No. 19. (Spring 1970) pp. 55-56.
14. Arendt, Hannah. *Between Past and Future.* New York: Viking Press, 1968. p. 59.
15. *Ibid.* p. 60.

West would possibly have been much less tolerable.

There is reason to believe that hip culture serves as a weathervane for the popular youth culture, and thus for the future of Western society. The hope that the gap between the conventional and the new values will narrow through the spontaneous maturation of hip adolescents is naive. A counter-culture and a counter-ideology founded on these new values have taken root, which, for all their deficiencies, inspire an enthusiasm that the elders, who subscribe to conventional values, seldom display. The seeds of the counter-culture were planted inadvertently by parents, both through their child-rearing practices and in their equivocal commitment to a system which even they will admit requires change. What young people see, however, is that their parents have abdicated responsibility for effecting change - whether it be cultural or political - and have, at best, watched passively as the institutions into which their children are expected to march have become overgrown and inhumane.

The compulsive need for quantitative change, that is, progress measured quantitatively, in our technological society becomes most destructive when the system serves itself rather than man. All evidence clearly points to a shift in the attitudes of the young to such progress.

It is difficult to be optimistic about the future of generational relationships. Phenomenologically speaking, the experience of this youth generation is vastly different from that of the previous one. The totality of the technocratic structure and the loneliness and alienation imposed by it ultimately affect all of us.

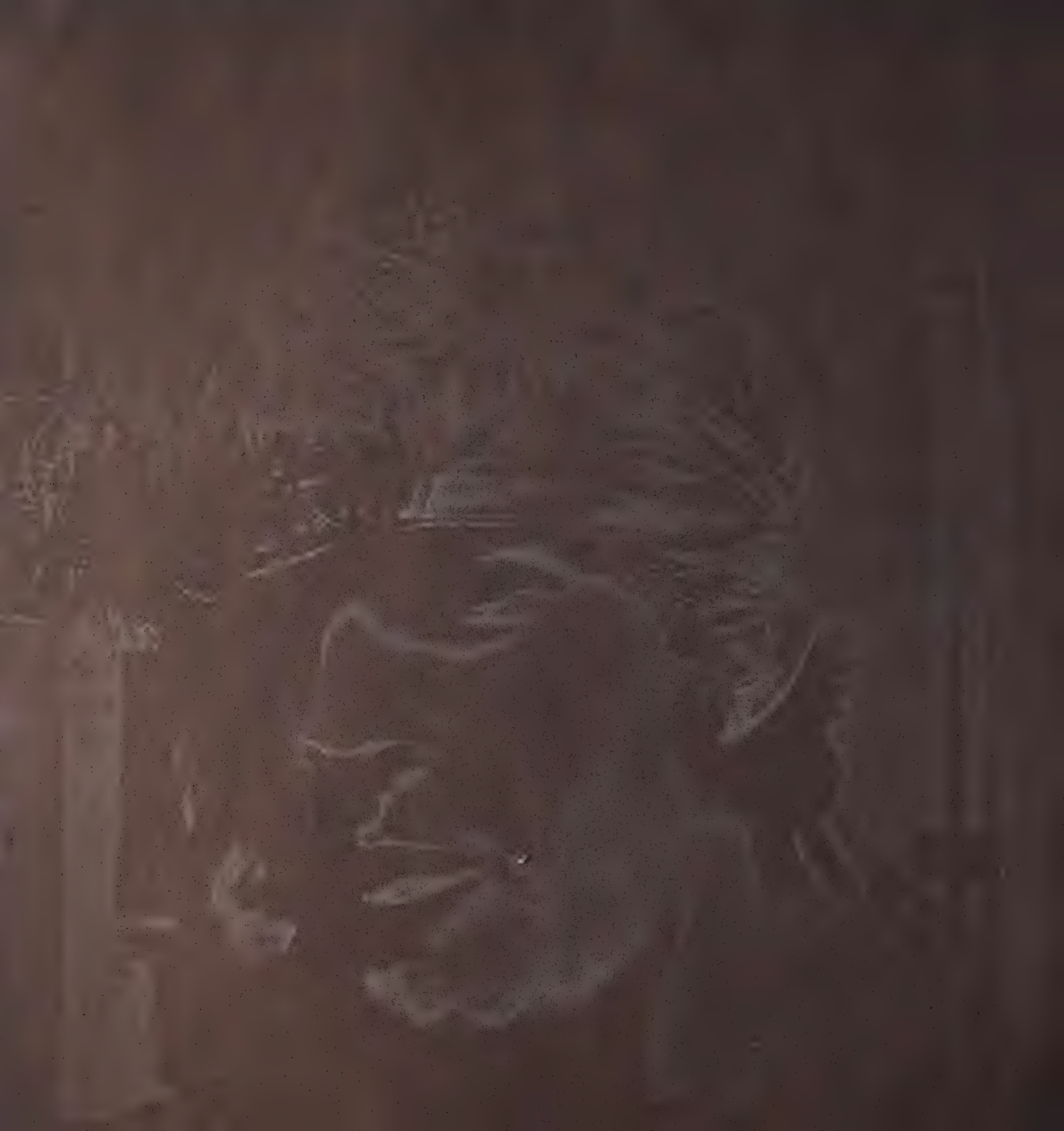
In these circumstances, one wonders why something hasn't blown - or, rather, why when it has, it has been easily isolable. Large organizations have been with us for a long time. But only since the Second World War has their penetration become so pervasive. Those who grew up before and during the War experienced the Depression, where a job and a good income were scarce and, therefore, valued commodities. With fewer, less diversified media, fewer alternatives were visible.

Those who during their lifetimes have stood in reverential awe of the astounding advances wrought by technology cannot perceive nor react to youth's perception of the malevolent effects of this development. Affluence satisfied the economic goals of that generation. But the goals which sprang out of depression-nurtured need now act as a buffer between this generation and the negative aspects of increasingly pervasive quantitative change.

Their children lack these buffers. Those adults, who see the need for qualitative change and are taking action, rest many of their hopes with youth. They pass on to youth their criticisms of the existing institutional framework, thereby articulating for young persons what may only have been intimations. In this confused context, their reactions range from hesitant acceptance to confusion to open attack. They are groping for some self-defining handhold on this shifting, fragmented, contradictory reality.

The discord between technological and human needs has spawned, in one short decade, a protest *culture* which shows no signs of abating. Neither wishful thinking nor tokenism will eradicate it. Only the most serious attempts on the part of the older generation to understand the cultural experience of young people will reinstate any measure of harmony between generations.

Political leaders have an obligation to listen to the voice of young people for the substantive and moral intelligence it seeks to convey. For all of its uncertainty and confusion, the message is an honest and humanistic cry against a society which places technological advancement and bureaucratic efficiency before the needs of its citizens.



Chapter IV
The Organization Kid - An Adult Pursuit

Introduction

The Committee attempted to look closely at those private organizations whose programmes are directed specifically towards young people. These organizations, through their long association with youth, have a most extensive, well-established network of contacts. Their experience in this area gives us one of the most valid insights into the attitude of the adult community towards youth, as well as validating our information regarding youth attitudes.[1]

Traditionally, the concept of voluntarism developed differently in Quebec and the other provinces. Both areas displayed a paternalistic approach. In Quebec, charity and welfare were the function of the church while in English-speaking Canada private philanthropic organizations, in the main, initiated and carried on the earliest efforts. In both areas of Canada the traditional financial support through church and private organizations is proving in adequate. Reassessment by these agencies of their role, and the increasing belief that many of their functions should be the responsibility of the state is resulting in a greater demand on provincial and federal resources. At present, there is a glaring lack of communication between most voluntary organizations and the federal government; the voluntary agencies are unaware of available federal funds and programmes and the government has little information on voluntary youth organizations. This chapter presents information on the state of the voluntary youth organizations today - their size, composition, financing, and current programming. It also considers the role which the voluntary youth organizations foresee for the federal government. Their long experience should place them in an excellent position to suggest obvious ways in which the government could assist or supplement on-going activities, or encourage and initiate new programmes.

If government is to deal with youth organizations in any productive way, it must be sensitive to differences of purpose, structure, and method of operation. All youth organizations are currently experiencing strong challenges which may affect their very existence.

The major challenge is that voluntary youth organizations are losing their appeal for the young; their traditional programmes are becoming less popular. Youth everywhere are frustrated by the fact that adult-run organizations continue to equate leisure activity with competitive physical recreation. Youth are rejecting the highly-structured, paternalistic fashion in which many voluntary organizations operate. In this age of "participatory democracy", youth are demanding open unstructured situations in which they can shape and determine their own activities. For these reasons, membership in many voluntary organizations is declining. Youth everywhere talk of "nothing to do" while local clubs and centres operate poorly-attended programmes.

The voluntary organizations' traditional role and activities have been further undermined by the expansion of government, particularly into the area of recreation. Both municipal and provincial governments, especially through the use of educational facilities, are providing recreational facilities and programmes on a scale not possible for private agencies. With much of their traditional role usurped, they have been forced to ask questions about the needs of today's youth in order to retain a clientele. While many have done nothing to update themselves, others are making genuine and frequently successful attempts to meet these needs.

Current State of Voluntary Youth Organizations

Kinds of Organizations

Three types of youth organizations exist. The first and largest are the long-established recreational and leadership-training groups such as the Boys' Clubs, Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, and the Y's. Founded in an era of philanthropy, they were originally highly moral if not overtly religious in purpose. As youth began to lose interest in this emphasis, these organizations gradually shifted their focus to the provision of recreation. They continued to be structured, paternalistic and, usually, differentiated by sex.

The second type are the special interest youth organizations based upon a particular difficulty (e.g., handicapped youth), activity (e.g., a sport), or ethnicity.

The third type are the issue-oriented, often *ad hoc* organizations, usually established by youth themselves in response to a particular problem or concern.

Levels or Organization

For the purposes of this analysis, the Committee defined levels of organization as follows:

—a national organization is one represented in two or more provinces with local and/or provincial organizations below it; e.g., Boys' Clubs of Canada, National Council of YMCA's Canadian Council on Children and Youth;

—a provincial/regional organization either has a national organization above it and local organizations below it, or is found in only one province but with two or more branches; e.g., Girl Guides of Ontario, *Jeunesses littéraires du Québec,* Boy Scouts of Newfoundland;

1. As noted in the Introduction, the bulk of this information was collected in 1969-70. The survey conducted among voluntary organizations was circulated in March 1970.

a local organization is affiliated with a national and/or provincial/regional organization; e.g., Boys' Club of Vancouver, YWCA of Halifax;
—a non-affiliated group is without organizational affiliations either to a national, provincial, or local grouping; e.g., Indian and *Métis* Youth Council of Winnipeg, Finnish-Canadian Amateur Sports Federation, Black Heritage Youth Group.

Of the organizations studied, 27% were national, 14% provincial/regional, 39% local and 10% non-affiliated groups. There are sharp regional distinctions: Ontario has a preponderance of the national organizations (35 of the 40), Quebec and the Maritimes have a higher percentage of provincial/regional organizations than local organizations.

Types of Participation

Youth organizations can be further classified according to youth involvement:
—a co-operative group is one in which youth and adults share responsibility; e.g., The Black Heritage Youth Group, *Jeunesses littéraires du Québec,* some of the Boys' Clubs and most of the Y's;
—a directive group is one in which adults lead youth; e.g., Boys' Clubs of Canada, Air Cadet League of Canada, some Boys' Clubs and a few Y's;
—an autonomous group is one led by youth themselves; e.g., Indian and *Métis* Youth Council of Winnipeg, Student Christian Movement, Canadian University Press, *Jeunesse Rurale Catholique.*

Co-operative groups in our sample represent 52%; directive groups, 40%, and autonomous groups, only 8%. The Maritimes differ from the other regions of Canada by having a higher percentage of directive as compared to co-operative groups. The higher percentages of autonomous groups are found in Quebec (22%), and Ontario (10%).

Federal Funds

The majority of the organizations (70%) receive no funds from the federal government; 20% receive less than 25% of their budget from the federal government and only 2% receive more than 25% of their budget from Ottawa.

If one can assume that national and provincial/regional organizations are more structured and are closer to the centres of power than local organizations, then it would follow that they would be in a better position to receive federal funds. As might then be expected, the two regions with the highest percentage of local organizations and non-affiliated groups receive the least funds from the federal government (92% for British Columbia and 80% for the Prairies received no federal funds). Only Ontario and the Maritimes have any groups receiving more than 15% of their budget from Ottawa - approximately 10% of the groups in each region.

Age and Membership Trends

The Boy Scouts of Canada, Girl Guides of Canada, Boys' Clubs of Canada, National Council of YMCA's, and the YMCA of Canada have been chosen for detailed analysis. Since they are all national organizations with associations or groups in every province, they constitute some of the oldest and largest youth organizations in the country. Furthermore they are going through many changes. Their responses to these changes have been selected to illustrate these trends.

Boy Scouts and Girl Guides

The Boy Scouts of Canada had 263,863 members in 1968. Of these, 13,047 (20.39%) were between the ages of 14 and 23, but within this category only 26% were between the ages of 16 and 23. Total membership in the organization decreased by 11,700 in 1969.

Similarly, the Girl Guides of Canada with a total membership of 245,213 in 1969, had 7,098 members between the ages of 14 and 21. Membership in the 14 to 18 year age bracket decreased in 1969 by 1,000.

The decline in membership is similar to that in most groups. In addition, both these organizations show a tendency towards heavier participation in the younger age groups. However, even these figures do not reflect the national pattern, since Ontario accounts for 67% of Boy Scouts 16-23 and 72% of Girl Guides 16-23. This is consistent with the fact that Ontario has a disproportionately large number of members in all age ranges. (See Table 1).

The decline in membership, particularly in the older age groups has been a primary concern of the Boy Scouts. An extensive self-evaluation has been conducted and they are now attempting to introduce changes such as the encouragement of youth participation in the planning of some of their own programmes and activities. They feel however, that changes will not be easily assimilated. A former member offers the following explanation for the Boy Scouts' difficulty in changing: "once an identity is established, it is quite difficult to change. Thus, the Boy Scout identity is one of boys enthusiastically doing good deeds, chopping wood and tenting out, wearing little 'Mountie hats', hiking in the most godawful places and, of course, selling apples on Apple Day. Any Boy Scout who fails to do all of these things is obviously in a slack troop. This identity exists in

Table 1

Boy Scouts and Girl Guides of Canada Membership (Age 14 to 23) by Province and Territory, 1969

Boy Scouts of Canada				Girl Guides of Canada			
	14–17	16–23	Total		14–18	16–23	Total
British Columbia	1405	352	1757	British Columbia	804	46	850
Alberta	741	141	882	Alberta	550	11	561
Saskatchewan	532	66	598	Saskatchewan	202	7	209
Manitoba	551	32	583	Manitoba	263	0	263
Ontario	5478	2154	7632	Ontario	2786	174	2960
Quebec*	1253	267	1520	Quebec*	685	0	685
New Brunswick	421	91	512	New Brunswick	323	1	324
Nova Scotia	559	53	612	Nova Scotia	413	2	415
Newfoundland	192	43	235	Newfoundland	599	0	599
Prince Edward Island	90	9	99	Prince Edward Island	87	0	87
Northwest Territories and Yukon	N/A	N/A	N/A	Northwest Territories and Yukon	37	0	37
Overseas	29	25	54	Overseas	42	0	42
Overseas and Canada	11251	3233	14484	Overseas and Canada	6791	241	7032
1969 Canada	11222	3208	14430	1969 Canada	6749	241	6990
1968 Canada, NWT and Overseas	9593	3454	13047	1968 Canada, NWT and Overseas	7797	130	7927

*These figures include predominantly English-speaking groups only.

spite of efforts of the Boy Scouts of Canada in the past two years to launch a completely different programme with a much more urban emphasis."

Boys' Clubs of Canada

National membership in the Boys' Clubs is estimated at 40,000 between 9 and 18: under 13, 62%; 13 to 15, 26%; over 15, 12%.

The Boys' Club of Kamloops indicated that 63% of boys aged 15 to 18 wanted to have more say in determining programmes (compared with 42% of those under 15). The Boys' Club of Vernon is contemplating having youth representatives on the Board of Directors. The St. John's (Nfld.) Boys' Club has established a Boys' Council (15 boys aged 16 to 20) to advise the Club. In Brantford the Boys' Club recently lowered the membership age to 14 thereby changing the status of those over 14 to that of leader.

The Y's

There are four types of Y's in Canada: the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), primarily for males; the family YMCA, for both sexes; the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), primarily for females; and YM-YWCA, an amalgamation for both sexes. The first two relate to the National Council of YMCA's, the third to the YWCA of Canada and the fourth to both the National Council and the YWCA of Canada. In addition, there are the Young Men's Hebrew Association (YMHA) and the Young Women's Hebrew Association (YWHA).

The National Council of YMCA's estimates that there are 92,000 members between 13 and 25. The YWCA has 39,010 members between the ages of 13 and 34. These figures must be treated with caution; firstly, they cover a wider age range than that under consideration (up to 34 years old for the YWCA). Secondly, members within an individual Y are often tallied by programme rather than by membership; thus, a person who is involved in several programmes is counted several times.

On the other hand, those participating in non-membership programmes may never be counted. In urban centres where the Y's are running drop-in centres, youth clinics, emergency services, media workshops or have detached youth workers, programmes are staffed by Y personnel but youth who come in contact with them usually have non-membership status. For example, while youth membership in the YMCA of Greater Montreal is 5,000, it is estimated that

Table 2

Location and Numbers of Y's by Province (Including Branches) 1969

	YMCA's	YWCA's	YM-YWCA's	Total
British Columbia	8	2	4	14
Alberta	8	3	1	12
Saskatchewan	2	3	1	6
Manitoba	6	2	0	8
Ontario	38	24	18	80
Quebec	12	2	3	17
New Brunswick	2	1	1	4
Nova Scotia	5	1	2	8
Prince Edward Island	2	0	0	2
Newfoundland	1	1	0	2
North West Territories	0	1	0	1
Yukon	0	1	0	1
Total	84	41	30	155

another 7,000 participate in non-membership programmes.

However, like the Boys' Clubs, the Y's are attempting to some degree to increase membership participation in planning and operation of programmes. Some have youth representation on the Board of Directors (e.g., Ottawa YM-YWCA). This means that the youth voice is heard but the representative usually does not have a vote. Others have voting youth members of the Board.

Changes appear to have occurred faster and to have had greater impact upon the general approach of the Y's than of the other groups. Of great significance are the outreach programmes - drop-in centres, youth clinics, detached workers - being operated by more and more Y's.

Concerns of Youth Organizations

In response to the Committee's request for a listing of voluntary agency concerns and the areas of interest that they had, the following list reflects their major concerns for future activity and the role they would like to evolve towards: Education, Information Dissemination, Employment, Recreation, Arts and Cultural Activities, Travel, Health, Drugs, Law and, finally, Community Development and Outreach Programmes.

Education

There are many organizations currently involved in education, both those whose educational programmes account for a large proportion of their activities, or constitute their *raison d'être,* and those for whom educational activities are a minor concern.

In the first category are service groups such as the Canadian National Institute for the Blind (CNIB) which operates schools for youth with sight disabilities, and the Canadian Association for the Mentally Retarded (CAMR) which encourages training and education programmes. There are religious organizations such as the Lutheran Church and the Salvation Army, which operate specific teaching programmes. Ethnic or cultural associations such as the Black Heritage Youth Group and the Trinidad and Tobago Association offer courses in black history and culture. Cadet organizations offer programmes in driving, aviation and boating. Special interest groups such as the Canadian Forestry Association, the *Association des Jeunes Scientifiques,* and academic groups sponsor natural science courses, science fairs, conferences and research opportunities, exchanges, scholarships and bursaries.

In the second group, the educational programmes form only part of an extensive array of programmes and activities ranging from sports and recreation to community services. Included here are such local co-operative groups as the YMCA's, YWCA's, Boys' Clubs, and Girl Guides. They offer courses on family life, sex and drug education, English classes for New Canadians, speed reading, nursery classes, pre-natal programmes, sensitivity and discussion groups.

In most cases, these organizations are offering courses which are not available elsewhere in the community

or which supplement programmes offered by the public education system. In either case, youth organizations see themselves as interim suppliers of educational services which should be given through the schools but are not at present. Some Y's, such as the Lachine-Dorval YM-YWCA, have worked in co-operation with local school boards to present drug education lectures to student assemblies.

Both types of youth organizations agreed that changes are needed within the formal education system and in the area of popular education. They proposed changes at every level of the formal education system. At the pre-school level, the Vancouver YMCA and the YMCA of St. John's both suggested that there be more nursery and kindergarten classes - especially for children of low income families - and that Headstart programmes be expanded.

At the public school level, many groups suggested changes in teaching methods and course content, that the teaching environment become less disciplined, and that the individual student be given more freedom of choice in his course work and in his approach to learning. Several Y's suggested the addition of courses on sex, drugs, birth-control, and human relations. Others suggested that training in vocational and technical fields be modernized and expanded in order to facilitate the employment of high school graduates.

Black organizations cited discrimination and proposed that courses be offered in black history.

"The black child is taught a 'black drained' version of history in our schools and he is given no basis for pride in his racial ancestry."

Black Heritage Youth Group, Amherstburg, Nova Scotia

Proposed solutions to this problem hinged on reforms within the present educational system.

"Sensitivity training courses geared to mixed racial groups of youth might be the answer to the problem of hidden biases and prejudices prevalent in our society."

Trinidad and Tobago Association, Montreal

The question of blind and handicapped youth was raised by CNIB, the Canadian Mental Health Association (CMHA) and CAMR. All of these organizations suggested that greater efforts be made to integrate the handicapped into the "normal" public school system.

Several groups, including the Vancouver YWCA, Barrie YM-YWCA, and the National Office of the YWCA, singled out public school counselling services for criticism. The Vancouver YWCA argued that counselling staffs were particularly deficient in the areas of career guidance and detection of emotional problems among students. They suggested that counselling staffs be expanded to include roving social workers, remedial reading experts, speech therapists, psychologists, and psychiatrists.

The Vancouver YWCA also proposed changes at the university level, focusing on the need for more multi-programme community colleges, more scholarships, bursaries and loans - especially for the part-time student. The National YWCA suggested that universities offer training courses in youth work and also proposed more work-study programmes between youth organizations and local colleges. Several organizations felt there was a need for more educational tours and exchanges on an international level.

While recognizing that education is an area of provincial jurisdiction, many organizations suggested that the federal government take the initiative in encouraging the provinces to adopt national educational standards designed to facilitate interprovincial student exchanges and transfers. The YMCA of St. John's stated: "We see the most pressing policy need in the field of education. Federal standards should be established that would allow movement from province to province without penalty to students because of provincial standards and grading systems. Under a federal policy, each province should control its educational destiny, but the federal policy would standardize such things as age of school entry, and kindergarten classes. Some standard of fees should be established to equalize college educational opportunities from province to province. This is particularly true of post-graduate courses in professional education."

Several organizations mentioned the need for action in the area of popular education. The Vancouver YWCA, National YMCA, National YWCA, and the Canadian Forestry Association, called for massive public education programmes on family life, conservation, drugs, community development, and national languages. The CNIB and CMHA suggested the need for public education on mental health and employment potential of the handicapped. One group, the *Jeunesse Ouvrière Chrétienne* recommended programmes for young workers designed to enable them to pursue educational interests outside the formal education system, to achieve an understanding of labour laws, labour management relations, the economic system and the political process.

Information Dissemination

The lack of information on the youth field in general and federal programmes in particular was a concern expressed by nearly all youth organizations. A plea from the Prairies for the government to supply information services and thereby to end the "vacuum" in which many of the youth organizations work echoed this request from Quebec City: "Information: this is the biggest single need ... conferences, special publications, applied research, funding of pilot projects, documenting needs, setting standards, en-

couraging co-operation - all are possible areas of direct government action." YMCA, Quebec.

The Y's were most concerned about the lack of information. The YMCA of Canada recommended easier access to modern communication and data processing facilities to "enable assembling of information, trends, facts and opinions across Canada toward responsible citizen action while issues are still current" and "avoid duplication and promote co-ordination with other groups and organizations with the same or similar objectives."

A growing number of the Y's and Boys' Clubs offer information on sex and drugs through their literature and counselling facilities. Apart from this, however, the only efforts in this field are made by the national headquarters of such youth organizations as the YMCA, YWCA, Boys' Clubs and Boy Scouts, which provide their member organizations with suggestions for programmes and assistance in applying for government grants.

Several of the youth organizations suggested a booklet listing available grants from provincial and federal governments.

"Our club officials do not know what are the existing governmental programmes and funds available for youth at the present time. A listing of programmes should, it seems, be widely distributed with an outline of the type of brief required when applying for funding and to which government department it should be directed." Director of a Boys' Club

Several also requested a national agency directory which would not only list all organizations but also describe their services.

It was suggested that public libraries be stocked with material on youth work and that these be backed by a central library of literature and audio-visual material on youth and youth organizations. Some organizations want a centralized government information service dealing with such topics as transient youth, drug misuse, and youth movements, or more specifically: ". . . an effective youth desk should be a part of Information Canada. This could provide a two-way service by acting as a resource centre for matters related to youth as well as quickly and accurately channelling requests to the right place." YMCA of Canada.

The media, particularly radio and television, were seen as potentially effective agents not only in the distribution of information but also in the broad area of education. Many suggested the creation of more programmes to inspire and educate people to participate in community development (along the lines of the National Film Board's "Challenge for Change" series), to allow young people to learn about other cultural, regional and economic groups, and to prepare people for the optimum use of their increased leisure time.

In summary, the youth organizations are asking for up-to-date information on youth and youth problems and they see this as a possible function of the federal government, through either direct involvement or, preferably, through existing agencies. The media, particularly radio and television, are seen as potential agents for education and social integration, not only for youth but also for all members of society who are in some manner alienated.

Employment

The CNIB and most of the large Y's and Boys' Clubs expressed the greatest interest in the question of employment. At present, those in Vancouver and Toronto are actively involved in youth employment programmes. Generally, their programmes consist of counselling and placement services for members and transient youth. However, these are basically the same services as those offered by local Manpower Centres, and while their relationships with the "client" may be less impersonal and bureaucratic, they have equally little effect upon the job market.

In the area of employment, there is a consensus that the federal government should offer better services for high school and university students. Several groups, including the Edmonton YMCA and the Vernon Boys' Club, pro-

posed that students be hired for clean-up programmes in national and provincial parks: ". . . programmes could be established in the forestry and park branches of the . . . government and payment could be made in the form of free room and board and a bonus at the successful completion of the summer."
Boys' Club, Vernon.

The Vancouver YWCA stated bluntly that certain jobs could be "reserved for students" and that employers could be asked to fill special "student employee quotas".

Youth organizations expressed concern also for the employment problems of drop-outs and the handicapped. The Boy Scouts of Manitoba and Northwestern Ontario proposed a job creation programme for drop-outs which would include "a job, special training and profit sharing". The YWCA of Sudbury expressed interest in the idea of establishing local small-scale secondary industries run entirely by youth who were either drop-outs, unskilled or physically handicapped. The CNIB requested increased training and counselling for blind employees, more research to discover the employment potential of blind youth and better use of the media in order to encourage hiring of the blind and handicapped.

It is clear that youth organizations and youth themselves are dissatisfied with the lack of job training in the present education system and with the inadequate placement services offered by Manpower. The fact that some organizations have already established their own employment services demonstrates a lack of confidence in the ability of structures like Manpower to adjust quickly to changing needs. It also reflects the situation that many of these organizations are assuming responsibilities in response to need as expressed by their clientele.

Recreation

Most youth organizations are involved to some degree in recreation. There seem to be two broad types of organizations involved - those whose primary interest is in the area of sports and recreation and those for whom such activities are of secondary or marginal concern.

Four general areas of recreational activity can be discerned. First, and most popular, are the gym and swim programmes, including indoor and outdoor team sports. These activities are most frequently offered by Boys' Clubs, Y's and special groups such as the Canadian-Finnish Amateur Sports Federation. Organizations have noted a decline in demand for their facilities in recent years as municipalities and school boards have become more involved in recreational programming.

The second most popular type of recreational activities are those involving the outdoors - boating, hiking, camping, skiing, and scouting. These programmes are organized by the Girl Guides, Boys' Clubs, Y's, and by more specialized groups such as the Canadian Youth Hostel Association (CYHA) and the *Association des Camps de Québec.*

The third area of recreational activities is concerned with handicrafts and hobbies. These are offered by such groups as the Y's, Boy Scouts, CNIB, CAMR, and ethnic groups like the Ukrainian Youth Association.

The fourth area common to all organizations is social activity comprising dances, picnics, banquets, light cultural activities and discussion groups.

Organizations involved in recreation are primarily interested in expanding their present programmes and adding to their facilities. In particular, greater efforts to offer programmes to those in economically deprived areas were stressed. This was particularly true of Boys' Clubs and Y's. In addition, some organizations mentioned programmes and plans to enable the handicapped to participate in recreational activities.
"For the past 10 years the Kelowna Boys' Club has co-ordinated recreation for the retarded children and adults one morning a week. Students are let out of school to help as volunteers as part of a community service. We also try to involve school drop-outs in the programme so that they can also realize a sense of accomplishment."
Boys' Club, Kelowna

In addition, they saw the federal government as having responsibilities for the provision of funds and facilities designed to assist groups currently working in the field.
"The government is needed to initiate research, compile a comprehensive plan, indicate priorities, evaluate services, and co-ordinate effort."
YWCA, Vancouver

Arts and Cultural Activities

Organizations involved in the arts category include the National Youth Orchestra, the Junior Symphony Society of Vancouver, the *Jeunesse littéraires du Québec,* and the *Fédération des Loisirs-Danse*. Their activities generally revolve around the specifics of their particular discipline. Those involved in the performing arts offer instruction, study camps, concert tours, and bursaries, while literary associations sponsor discussion groups and lecture series.

The cultural group, composed entirely of ethnic organizations like the Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association, the Trinidad and Tobago Association, and the Armenian Youth Federation, is concerned with the preservation of

aspects of their particular culture: folk dancing, culture study classes, and history classes. Ethnic organizations are involved in sport and recreational activities as well. Their cultural programme rarely accounts for more than half of their total activities.

In general, arts organizations are more agreed on what they would like to see implemented than are ethnic groups. The first priority for arts organizations is programme expansion. To do this, grants and bursaries are needed. As a member of the Vancouver Junior Symphony stated: ". . . there should be federal assistance to education for students 16-19 . . . music performance is a highly competitive art and those who work at labouring jobs in the summer slip badly in performance. Bursaries are needed so that serious students can practice and study all year round."

Proposals from ethnic organizations included inter-cultural education and exchanges, resource centres for leadership training, and more regional and national conferences. The question of government participation or assistance created division. Some argued that federal funds and facilities should be offered to ethnic groups "to help them achieve the Canadian dream of a just mosaic" (Trinidad and Tobago Association). The opposite point of view was presented by the Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association of Saskatoon. They stated that, "We do not feel that government should have any set policies on youth organizations. Interference in their affairs would upset the delicate balance upon which the majority of them exist."

Travel

The popularity of travel programmes is indicated by the fact that 70 of the 149 organizations (46.9%) were aware of grants from the Travel and Exchange Division of the Secretary of State. This percentage constitutes the highest level of awareness of any one governmental programme. As a result of such grants, many youth organizations are able to offer "travel and exchange" programmes in addition to their camping and residence provision.

Most thought the basic travel idea was sound, but stated that the programme was too narrowly defined (for interprovincial travel only), formalized, and "oversponsored".

Some organizations are interested primarily in travel. These include the CYHA, Canadian Service for Overseas Students and Trainees (CSOST), Canadian-German Academic Exchange, and the Association of Student Councils.

The CYHA operates 39 hostels in Canada and 2 in the United States with a total of 926 beds. All are located in rural, sports or recreational areas with the greatest concentrations in the mountain regions of Alberta and the St. Lawrence region of Quebec. Its domestic role, however, appears less important than the services it provides for those

travelling abroad. A CYHA survey among its members in B.C. revealed that 85% joined in order to take advantage of youth hostelling outside Canada.

In addition to hostelling, charter flights are operated by the CYHA and the Association of Student Councils. The Canadian-German Academic Exchange provides scholarships, and CSOST is involved in the collection and distribution of travel information.

The need for an expanded nation-wide system of hostels is foremost.

"We have bragged for years how cheaply young people travel in Europe, but have refused to extend the same privileges to them in their home country. If the parliamentary restaurant can supply the needs of our elected members at very reasonable rates, then the same can be done in youth hostels for the young people of Canada."

Canadian Service for Overseas Students and Trainees

Others suggested that medical, counselling and food services also be available at hostels.

Programmes and services desired by the voluntary organizations include: travel and exchange programme for young workers; a Canadian Student Travel Guide listing low-cost accommodation, restaurants and general information about various cities; cheap transportation for youth by means of travel scholarships, youth railway cards, and subsidized bus travel; a Trans-Canada Bicycle Trail and more provincial park space for camping and recreation.

In general, most organizations see the federal government's role in the field of travel as primarily a funding one. These groups feel capable of operating facilities, but money is needed for travel grants and construction of hostels.

Health

In the area of health the Y's - in particular those of Vancouver, Edmonton, Toronto and Montreal - and the service organizations working with the blind, retarded and handicapped were the most active. Generally, their health programmes are restricted to large urban centres.

The most ambitious Y programmes offer such services as homes for unwed mothers, referral services, drug crisis centres, and pre-natal classes. Specialized agencies like the CNIB and the CAMR offer medical services, referral services, counselling and supplies of special equipment. They operate special schools and camps for the disabled, the handicapped and the retarded, and sponsor public education campaigns.

Groups like the Y's proposed more public service for unwed mothers, legalized abortion, more medical crisis centres for drug users and more free medical and psychiatric services for all youth.

"Youth has unmet health needs. They need cheap or free dental and ophthalmic care and walk-in clinics without the usual red-tape identification procedures. It is important to provide the services in a way that is acceptable to the youth needing them." YMCA, Vancouver

Several groups, including the Burnaby YMCA and Inner Spirit of Edmonton focused on the need for more birth control information and changes in the laws affecting abortion and the distribution of contraceptive devices.

The proposals from such groups as the CNIB and the CAMR relate specifically to the needs of handicapped youth. They cite the need for more and better government services for the hanidcapped; more funds for organizations like themselves; increased government research into the causes and cures for blindness, retardation and other disabilities; and greater supply by the government of technical and sensory aids to those in need.

Drugs

Only a limited number of organizations are currently involved in developing programmes of information and consultation regarding drug abuse. These include co-operative Y's, and several *ad hoc* groups operating in the metropolitan areas of Ontario, Quebec and British Columbia.

The most prevalent and effective activities take place in multi-purpose drop-in centres which offer counselling services, emergency medical services, drug information and detached workers. These centres are operated by such groups as the Lachine-Dorval YMCA, the Vancouver YWCA and the Toronto North Eastern Region YWCA. Other groups not yet involved in the drug field hope to establish similar centres.

Usually, the drop-in centre is little more than a place where young people meet. In many cases, counselling services are an integral part of the drop-in programme. The Lachine-Dorval YMCA has achieved excellent results by using the encounter group as a rehabilitative technique in the area of drug abuse. Working with young drug users in general and "speed freaks" in particular, they report the ability to maintain attendance levels of 98% in their groups; in the majority of cases, they have been successful in helping young people to decrease or stop drug abuse altogether.

"Many participants have been able to evaluate their learning clearly and have shown an obvious change in behaviour which appears to be relatively permanent. Many participants have found communication at home quite significantly improved. In several cases, participants have shown marked improvement in attitude at school. Most participants have found their ability to relate to their friends improved . . . It appears that this method, if applied more consistently,

may prove to be significant in dealing with the source of the problem of drug abuse."
Community Director, YMCA, Lachine-Dorval

Medical services are also provided through drop-in centres. Those who staff the service - usually on a voluntary basis - are medical personnel and "concerned" individuals capable of talking individuals down from bad trips either in person or by phone.
"On a busy night, you know, from seven in the evening till six in the morning, there'll be 20 or 25 people come down for various reasons. Anywhere from just dropping in to say hello to friends, to having a place to speed in (last Saturday night there were five guys speeding - it just happens to be a place to speed for somebody who is hassled), to freaking out, to coming for counselling, to coming down to be a volunteer. On a slow night, three people, nobody . . . but those slow nights are slowly disappearing. The busy nights are getting busier." 12 Madison Project, Toronto

Drug information is provided by these centres either informally in "talk sessions" or in more formal lectures given by staff members at drop-in centres or in local schools. Although drug analysis is a highly beneficial service, few organizations, due to legal complications, have access to the type of drug analysis service they want and need.

A multi-purpose centre does not always begin as such. What starts as a drop-in or drug-crisis centre, a base for detached workers among drug users or a counselling service quickly adopts all these interrelated functions. To provide only one of these services would be an artificial fragmentation of the lives for whom the service was designed. Unfortunately, lack of funds, community hostility and traditional thinking about the "appropriate" location for such services often hinders the adoption of a multi-purpose style.

The need for more drop-in centres with counselling and emergency medical services is essential. One girl from Inner Spirit in Edmonton suggested that what was needed in the area of medical services was a place to go, good publicity, and "no cops standing on the corner, waiting to pick you up". In order to maintain and expand the services, these organizations need funds, and public support in the form of co-operation by authorities and understanding from the neighbourhoods in which they operate. At present, these ingredients are usually lacking.

Organizations stressed the need for more public education on the effects of particular types of drugs.
"What is interesting with the drug scene is that people are really experimenting with things that they don't even know anything about. In my own personal view, one of the major things outside of dealing with the freak-out or with the kid in counselling - is education; getting out to parents and attempting to affect some sort of change. How do we get somewhere closer together so we can produce some sort of communication? We have to attempt to explain what kids are talking about."
Organizer, 12 Madison Project, Toronto

Groups proposed that more information be made available on the treatment of people suffering from "bum trips" resulting from drug abuse.
"We desperately need the results of the Royal Commission on Drugs to give us some direction. There are no firm sources of information . . . We flounder with plans for a drop-in centre because of lack of information."
YMCA, Lethbridge

Much agreement exists on the need for major reforms of the present drug laws - particularly those regarding the soft drugs and the hallucinogens. One young member of the Burnaby YMCA commented that, "It is ridiculous to be able to buy speed while marijuana . . . is illegal." To most young people, there is nothing wrong in using soft drugs.

Law

Generally, remarkably little is being done by youth organizations in this field. The Edmonton YWCA operates a half-way house, and Outlook - a new organization working specifically with young people "in trouble" with the law - has camping and canoeing programmes. Many organizations operate counselling services for young offenders. Boys' Clubs in particular try to work closely with local probation officers.

Many of the newer, youth-run organizations operating outreach or drop-in programmes must deal constantly with law-enforcers and with the implications of the law. The first and most frequent recommendation by voluntary agencies was that the laws regarding the status of youth be made consistent. Every region of Canada called for standardization of the age of majority, driving age and drinking age. Young people cannot understand why what is legal in one province is illegal in another, and this inconsistency confirms the opinion of many that laws in general are vagarious and arbitrary.

Of major concern are the present laws controlling drugs, birth control, and abortion. Although many of the youth organizations asked for more information on drugs (these briefs were submitted before the LeDain interim report was released), many questioned the harsh and inconsistent penalties for possession of soft drugs and deplored the "lifetime stigma of a criminal record for marijuana use". Inner Spirit, Alberta.

Many organizations expressed concern over the poor relationships between youth and the police. Drop-in centres complained of police harassment, and traditional

organizations mentioned frequent police discrimination against young people, particularly those with long hair.

The police reaction, however, only reflects the larger problem of the discrimination by society in general against the new life-style of the younger generation. Several organizations felt compelled to point out that all young people have the same rights and responsibilities as other members of our society and should be treated accordingly. "It is very important that youth are equal before the law. This starts with lowering the legal age for adults status to 18. It also means that in attitude and deeds all police forces and all departments of the legal system express more dignity and equality to youth in their treatment." YMCA, Montreal

Community Development and Outreach Programmes

Activities which can be described as outreach programmes and social action and, in the larger context, community development, have long been the focus of groups such as the Canadian Friends Service Committee, the Christian Workers, Operation Achievement, Operation Beaver and Madonna House. A number of other youth organizations - notably the Y's and some of the Boys' Clubs - are in the process of moving into this field on a large scale. A few urban branches have been involved for some time. However, the groups undertaking such programmes constitute a distinct minority of all youth organizations.

The adoption of this new role is the outcome of several factors. In the first place, some have become involved because their traditional role has been usurped.

"We are turning more to the social welfare type of programmes for which little or no fee can be charged. This is necessary because city recreation departments are able to do much more cheaply the kinds of programmes we used to do." YMCA, St. John

Secondly, outreach programmes reflect both the demand and the variance of that demand on the street for expanding responsibilities. This new role is in conflict with the original and underlying purposes of many volunteer organizations. They were established largely to meet youth's need for recreation, particularly in deprived areas; they are now responding to a new need and a different type of deprivation which is more social than physical.

The organizations involved found that this type of activity attracts youth in the 15 to 25 age group - a group which at present is only marginally involved with formal youth organizations. A common characteristic of these organizations is that they have developed outreach and action programmes in response to well-identified youth needs.

The activities in outreach programmes and community development can be loosely described as services. Designed not simply to assist individuals but to promote a sense of community awareness and co-operation in problem-solving and decision-making, these activities stress leadership training, counselling, and social animation.

Leadership training for community work and social action is one of the most common and most demanded services. In some cases, it is offered as an integral part of a drop-in programme.

"This is a very controversial type of programme. The people who are in favour of it consider it of great benefit to our YWCA. For one thing, it changes our image and also it gives us direct contact with all types of young people. It is the only programme in which young people from every layer of society mix happily and it is also unstructured which gives members of the group excellent opportunities for the development of leadership abilities. It has been very gratifying to see the development of some of the natural leaders, particularly since they have all been of the so-called 'under-privileged' segment of society."
YWCA, St. John

The counselling services offered by those working in outreach programmes and community development often take the form of group rehabilitation (encounter groups, drop-ins) and detached workers.

The detached worker, serving as a roving counsellor, is the primary vehicle of contact between the organization and those in need of advice and assistance. He is the key to the success of most outreach programmes. Because he works primarily on the streets, contacting youth in places where they congregate, he provides the only link with established society for young people who are unwilling or unable to approach formal organizations. These young people may never use the detached worker for more than casual discussion, but he is available.

"While the YMCA is presently preparing to give major emphasis to the development of youth centres, we will not lose sight of the important work of the detached worker. The alienated and problem-oriented youths will not attend the diverse interest centres. Therefore, the Y will continue to work in the street, contacting and assisting youths with direct personal assistance." YMCA, Toronto

Animation is the process of educating, informing or awakening people to a sense of community which will enable them to work together to achieve common ends. It may take the form of a drop-in programme or a leadership training course or may be the primary function of a detached worker.

Operation Achievement in Ottawa has anima-

tion programmes which include orienting new Canadians to the community, operating a Headstart kindergarten, and offering community orientation classes to children. The Toronto YWCA (North Eastern Region) offers public education courses on social action and community development. The Dorval-Lachine YMCA programme includes encounter groups and detached workers, and the Lutheran Church's (Western Synod) outreach programme is based on detached workers who visit local congregations giving advice, information and encouragement for community projects. Madonna House, near Combermere, Ontario, is one of many organizations teaching community development by animation and involvement in local projects.

Organizations offering outreach programmes and community development are not involved in money-making ventures as when offering "gym and swim" classes. Without government financing, most groups cannot proceed past the "planning" stage. Group plans included pragmatic suggestions on leadership training, youth participation in community affairs, street work, co-operative housing, agency co-operation, and federal assistance.

One of the most frequent proposals was that the federal or provincial governments assist youth organizations in establishing leadership training programmes. There was general agreement that these programmes should include sensitivity groups and training sessions for social animators and detached workers. Several groups, including the National YMCA, suggested that such courses be offered by government-sponsored teams which would travel through the provinces, thereby ensuring their accessibility to all.

Practically all organizations involved in community development stressed the need for youth participation in both the planning and administration of projects. This concern amounts to a recognition that youth have valid ideas and solutions to some of our social problems and that the democratic process must involve all. Many organizations argued that youth should not be segregated into a special category with special privileges, but should be treated as equals in planning and administration. ". . . Local governments and communities should seriously consider what is happening to young adults as they keep them out of decision-making in their environment." YMCA, Truro.

"It is important that youth be involved in the community. This could be done through planning and study sessions in schools on such subjects as pollution, urbanization, and drugs. Resulting ideas and plans could be submitted to the various levels of government. This would involve youth far more than present essay and poster competitions. Political organizations for youth at the local level would give them a chance for communication to city councils. One specific plan suggests that each local constituency have a youth-elected representative who is 25 or under. This youth repre-

sentative should have local office space perhaps in a community centre. He would give and receive information and work with volunteer youth in his area. He would also report to a youth member of city council elected by the youth vote in the city." YMCA, Vancouver.

Most youth organizations were strongly in favour of expanding present outreach programmes. Many expressed their intention to become more involved in such programmes in the "inner city". Several mentioned the drastic need for "preventive" street work in depressed urban areas. Along the same lines, the Toronto YMCA suggested teams of field workers who would carry out research, distribute information and assist local community action efforts.

While there are very few youth organizations involved in co-operative housing projects for young people, several are interested in working in this area. The Sudbury and Toronto North Eastern Region YWCA's suggested that there was a need for this type of housing for youth who had left home either by choice or at their parents' insistence. Others suggested that young people be assisted rather than thwarted in their attempts to establish communal farms.

Several organizations stressed the fact that the success of community development programmes hinged on the degree of co-operation and co-ordination among local organizations.

"Co-operation on a local community basis with the Community Association, Parks and Recreation Department, and other groups has enabled us to avoid duplication of services within our community." Boys' Club, Calgary

Recommendations were made that community associations be established to co-ordinate the activities of youth organizations. It was pointed out that the co-operation of all social agencies was an essential ingredient for work with young people. The Canadian Council on Children and Youth discussed the total irrelevance of isolated efforts and concluded that: "Youth cannot be singled out and treated as a separate neatly packaged entity. The needs, hopes, aspirations and problems of youth grow out of the experiences of childhood both within the family and in the educational system, and to attempt to understand and meet the needs of youth and to ignore the needs of young children is an exercise in futility." Some even proposed that the government take a hand in this co-ordination in order to maximize use of facilities and personnel.

Several of the organizations sponsoring outreach programmes and community development were opposed to government involvement. Many others, however, argued that the government had major responsibilities in these areas. Virtually all organizations stated that the government could assist them in their efforts by granting funds and offering effective research and information services. Several groups commended the Welfare Demonstration Grants and argued that: "the government should provide 'seed' financing for indigenous autonomous youth groups wishing to develop self-interest or community programmes. These funds should be very accessible, perhaps dispensed by the youth worker in the community. (Youth workers are frequently asked by youth not necessarily connected to the Y or any organization for ways of gaining quantities of paper or other items to produce a paper, organize a festival, etc. Sometimes as little as $50 is needed.)" National YMCA.

The YMCA of Lachine-Dorval proposed that the federal government establish a funding body like the Canada Council to support community development programmes which involve young people. Grants would be made according to the following criteria:

—that submissions represent local initiatives based on local needs;

—that submissions include a plan for evaluation and subsequent reporting;

—that research funds show termination dates;

—that requests for seed money show plans for phasing into self-support;

—that there be some focus on youth involving rehabilitation, preventive work or creative endeavours.

Groups involved in outreach programmes and community development were particularly pressing in their proposals that the CBC carry programmes on community development and social action designed to stimulate and encourage public involvement and to publicize available government programmes and funds.

In conclusion, those organizations involved in community development see solutions to the so-called "youth problem" in terms of solutions to community problems - youth being an integral part of the community which differs primarily in its reaction to larger problems of society.

Conclusion

It is obvious that some voluntary organizations are playing and will continue to play an important role in the youth field. However, their role will inevitably change and this holds far-reaching implications for the relationship between these organizations and the government.

The older voluntary youth organizations were established in this country at a time when social planning and involvement by all levels of government was minimal. They attempted to meet the needs of young people particularly in the area of leisure activities through the creation of centres to which youth could belong. Of late, governments have become increasingly active in this field and, with greater resources, are beginning to meet the need, particularly for recreation, on a larger scale than was ever possible for voluntary groups.

This has resulted in a shifted emphasis for these organizations, although their role continues to be that of meeting needs unmet by government. This involves working with neglected groups (disadvantaged, alienated, handicapped), developing new methods of relating to youth and taking action on particular issues.

Faced with a declining demand for their traditional programmes, many of the more established youth organizations are coming to accept this new role. In addition, a number of organizations have been set up in recent years, often by youth themselves. Participation rather than membership increasingly constitutes the relationship of youth to these groups. They are seen more and more, not as self-contained bodies to which youth belong, but as groups which operate programmes and services at their centres and throughout the community, in which youth are involved as "recipients", participants and/or operators.

Nevertheless, a large number of voluntary organizations continue to ignore the warning signs and to disregard youth's perceptions of them. As this gap between the agencies and their clientele grows, membership declines and few attempts are made to understand or reverse the trend. Many organizations continue to place their faith in programmes and activities which are demonstrably unsuccessful. Offered unlimited time and funds, two-thirds of the youth organizations stated that they would like to expand their present programmes and facilities. In other words, despite the obvious declining interest on the part of youth in these organizations, a full two-thirds were incapable, or unwilling, or saw no need to suggest new activities and approaches which might have greater appeal to the young.

Most voluntary youth organizations have been operating in Canada for many years and have established extensive institutional networks highly resistant to change. The fact that some organizations like the Y's are abandoning or at least supplementing their traditional membership-and-centre-oriented programmes with participatory, community-oriented activities is an indication of the extensive need for this type of approach.

Federal Involvement

This new approach involves change from which a revised concept of institutions, and the relationships between them and government must emerge. For those voluntary organizations that are attempting to adapt to the times, it means a re-assessment of their own function and of their relationship with government. Basically, these organizations are becoming service organizations rather than recreational clubs. In terms of financial support, this shift has major implications: it questions the adequacy of membership fees as a means of support, especially for activities involving non-members. Simply more money is needed.

The lack of funds coming from the federal government to youth organizations might be attributed in part to the lack of publicity about the availability of funds attached to several federal programmes. The complicated application procedure favours older groups which are familiar with government channels. This bias is reinforced by the fact that one of the criteria for the awarding of grants is that the organizations be indeed organized and efficiently run. This means new groups and experimental projects initiated by youth have little hope of receiving grants.

Most large organizations have the internal resources to initiate innovative programmes: self-start, youth-run organizations, on the other hand, rarely have the funds to implement their proposals. The established organizations could provide the *ad hoc* ones with seed money and, from their position of prestige, argue on their behalf for more funds. This informal support occurs all too rarely.

Although most organizations think of federal involvement in terms of funding, several other types of involvement are also considered. The Committee's findings revealed the following suggestions for government involvement: funding (55%); information (33%); involvement of youth in decision-making (22%); and provision of resources (21%). These are issues with which the government should concern itself.

Approximately two-thirds of the organizations contacted are in favour of some form of government youth policy. Views differ on what such a policy would involve. The traditional, adult-led youth organizations assume that it would be a policy determined by the voluntary agencies with co-ordination and funding from government. Newer, youth-led organizations on the other hand, assert that the only acceptable government policy would be one which implemented and reflected youth's values and was controlled by the young people.

The voluntary youth organizations are in a situation of flux and transition. As a result of recent changes in society their traditional role is being rapidly altered. Some are attempting to change - to stop functioning as self-contained entities with defined memberships and to operate programmes for their communities at large. Since these changes reflect society-wide trends, organizations exhibiting this adaptability must be encouraged and supported. Furthermore, if voluntary organizations are to continue to offer programmes and services for youth, support must be provided for activities which appeal to, and reach, young people.

It is obvious that the task facing voluntary organizations in the field of youth is vast. If the challenge is to be met, the federal government must increase its assistance to the worthwhile programmes of the private agencies and, where lacking, initiate new ones. Where traditional responsibilities are inadequate or abdicated entirely, the federal government must strive through its resources and leadership to solve these problems. As a mandatory first principle, continuing consultation with voluntary organizations receiving federal support is absolutely necessary in attempting to find valid solutions to the plethora of problems in this area.

Introduction

Although an examination of provincial youth programmes was not specified in the mandate, it was decided to investigate some provincial structures as examples of alternative government approaches. Each provincial model selected illustrates a different approach to youth programming. Alberta, Nova Scotia, Ontario, Manitoba and Quebec were chosen to illustrate the wide range of government responses to youth.

It is important for the government to see the direction of provincial youth programming. If the federal government moves in the area of establishing a policy for youth in Canada, consultation must take place with the provinces. Co-operation is necessary and inevitable and the federal level should know the provincial attitudes.

Since the investigation of provincial youth activities was completed in December 1970, several changes have occurred in the mandates, structures and policies of the following youth programmes. Rather than providing a complete factual description, this chapter is intended to indicate the range of provincial activity and the basic types of thinking which underlie it.

Alberta

Before 1966, the government of Alberta operated programmes for young people in rural areas. The Queen Elizabeth Scholarship and Bursary Fund, established in 1959, was designed to contribute funds for university education. Recreation grants were provided, and the Department of the Provincial Secretary conducted a leadership training programme.

In March 1966, the Department of Youth Act was passed to consolidate all major government programmes related to youth. Its responsibilities include:
— the orderly development of constructive youth activities
— leadership training programmes
— sports and physical fitness programmes
— co-operation with other provincial departments operating youth programmes
— published material related to youth
— grants, scholarships and bursaries
— advisory committees on youth and councils of young people to advise the Department.

Structure

The Minister and Deputy-Minister of Transport direct the Youth Department. Formerly, the Minister of Education served also as Minister of Youth; the Department still considers itself supplementary to the programmes within the formal educational system. All projects must be cleared at the Deputy-Minister level at least. These two men are aided in their decisions by the Youth Advisory Committee, the Native Youth Committee, and the Adult Advisory Committee.

Funds for projects that include youth come from Agriculture; Attorney-General; Education; Executive Council; Industry and Tourism; Lands and Forests; Provincial Secretary; and Social Welfare.

The Department of Youth is divided into two major sections. The first includes the District Youth Representatives Branch, the Recreation Branch, and 4-H and Junior Forest Wardens Branch. (The province is divided into seven regions for administrative purposes, and representatives from three branches work in each region.) The second section deals with research and development and includes the following programmes: Junior Adolescents and Young Adults; Leadership Development; Youth Agencies; Alberta Service Corps; Special Projects; and research.

District Youth Representatives Branch

The District Youth Representatives (DYR's) provide an extension service on a consultative basis directly to

the communities in the seven regions. This service provides leadership training and development, to assist the formation and organization of community groups which include both adults and youth, to aid programmes which cater only to young people, and to help individuals and groups identify needs and become aware of the physical and human resources available to fill those needs.

The DYR's have established a pilot project in Red Deer with high school drop-outs and potential drop-outs. Other projects include student summer employment, organization of conferences on communication for adult workers, and sponsoring a detached worker in Lethbridge.

Recreation and leisure is the major concern of the Youth Department; more than half the budget is devoted to this category. The Department provides consultative services on administration, athletics, faculty development, and outdoor education. In the area of leadership development, it operates a recreation leadership school, a camp directors' seminar, a playground supervisors' course, athletic courses, and services for municipal recreation boards. The Branch finances leadership grants, scholarships, internships, grants to organizations and provincial teams, and facility grants. It operates a film and book loan service and a stop-watch service. In addition, it administers federal grants for fitness and amateur sports. An outdoor education centre has been constructed in Entrance Provincial Park. Services for the handicapped and aged have been developed.

Regional consultants of the Branch work with recreational boards and agencies, and a recreation committee, formed in 1968, has been designed to co-ordinate government activities among the nine Alberta departments that supervise diverse recreational activities and projects.

4-H and Junior Forest Wardens Branch

This Branch co-ordinates and administers activities at all levels for Alberta's 550 4-H Clubs (52 district and 7 regional councils). Past emphasis has been on rural districts and agricultural education, but future plans would increase educational activities, and assist members in making the transition from rural to urban situations. Seven regional 4-H and junior forest warden specialists are working with other voluntary organizations to develop these educational programmes.

This Branch provides camp facilities, conferences, seminars, and other opportunities for the junior forest wardens. (The clubs themselves are largely autonomous.) The programmes are designed to "encourage young people to learn to deal with their environment". This usually involves weekend treks into the forest.

Senior Adolescents and Young Adults Programme

This Programme provides facilities in the areas of educational opportunities, vocational guidance, management of resources, and recreation. A province-wide programme on the misuse of drugs and narcotics has been developed through the distribution of films, the preparation of literature, drug seminars, and a speaker's bureau. Drop-in centres are operating and work has been done in aiding rural youth to orient themselves to the urban environment.

Leadership Development Division

The staff is involved in many programmes throughout the Department. They act as resource personnel to voluntary agencies, conduct training work-shops and seminars, and provide supportive services. They attempt to foster co-ordination and co-operation among youth agencies providing leadership training, and are directing a feasibility study to determine the need for a provincial leadership development centre. They also co-ordinate the work of the Department's Native Youth Committee.

Youth Agencies Division

This Division works directly with voluntary youth-serving agencies. Its present work involves analyzing the Edmonton YWCA and Uncle-at-Large programme. An inventory has been made of youth-serving agencies and services, and a report completed on after-care hostels and half-way houses.

Alberta Service Corps

The Alberta Service Corps (ASC) was established to "provide an opportunity for concerned university, junior college, and technical school students to be involved in creative work for the benefit of others and to be confronted with the realistic problems of people and communities."[1] The Corps is also designed to help meet the needs of economically and socially deprived persons in various communities which have requested its assistance. The students work on urban and rural projects, with mental health services, and in correction institutions. The volunteers undergo an initial five-day training course; each receives $1.00 per day plus room and board with an additional stipend of $200 on the completion of service. To qualify for a student loan in Alberta, each student must earn at least $400 per summer. If an ASC volunteer has not earned this much, the government makes up the difference and the volunteer is then eligible for government financial aid.

1. *Alberta Department of Youth Annual Report.* 1968.

Special Projects Division

This Division is designed to identify, study, and interpret trends and issues relevant to Alberta youth. Workshops have been established for high school student council executives, principals and teacher-advisors. Larger regional workshops are held each summer. This Division also administers the federal-provincial Young Voyageur Programme. Its student employment project provided support for student-run employment projects. In 1968, the Division supervised four schools of tourism — two for secondary school students, and two for university, technical and junior college students. It also gives financial assistance to university students' high school visitation projects and freshmen orientation seminars, and provides liaison, information and guidance for science fairs.

Research Division

This Division conducts "problem-oriented and programme-oriented research". It investigates problems relevant to contemporary youth, advises other groups how to provide such research, and attempts to keep abreast of current research in the area. Through programme-oriented research, the Division investigates and defines needs in various areas, explores ways of meeting those needs and evaluates the effectiveness of programmes. Areas to be studied can be initiated by individuals or groups in the Department, by the Research Division itself, or by others outside the Department, but all proposals must go to the branch-heads for approval.

Research has been done on the following topics:
— a library of periodical literature relevant to youth and recreation
— a study of high-school drop-outs in Alberta
— a study of the Catholic Family Service camp
— a bibliographical summary on organized sports
— an Alberta recreation survey
— youth agencies' needs
— a questionnaire on a leadership development centre
— 4-H needs
— juvenile delinquency problems.

Nova Scotia

The Nova Scotia Youth Agency was created by the Youth Agency Order in 1967. The inter-departmental Committee on Youth, set up to investigate the advisability of creating a youth agency, advised the Provincial Secretary that such a structure should not programme youth activities, but rather should only be a co-ordinating and advisory group.

The Agency operates on the principle that staff should be kept at a minimum and should work with and through existing government departments: both staff and resources are decentralized. Assistance is provided to municipalities and agencies for local control and self-help. The Agency believes that youth must become an integral part of the community and that goals of assistance and change must not exclude adults.

Structure

The Commissioner of the Youth Agency is responsible to the Provincial Secretary. For administrative purposes, the Agency is still considered part of this Department, although responsibility has since been transferred to the Minister of Education.

The Youth Agency has the following hierarchical structure:
— Minister of Education
— Inter-Departmental Committee on Youth
— Commissioner of Youth (Deputy-Minister status)
— Staff of Agency
— persons responsible for the federal-provincial Young Voyageur Programme
— person handling drug problems, mainly in Halifax
— field worker in Eastern Nova Scotia, primarily in Sydney
— additional field representatives, essentially responsible for sports and recreation.

Other departments contribute to the efforts of the Youth Agency, usually through financial aid and research personnel. Assistance is provided by the Department of Education - Physical Education and Recreation Branch and Adult Education Division - the Department of Lands and Forests, and the Department of Welfare - Research and Social Development Branch.

The Youth Agency has remained small. It administers the federal-provincial Young Voyageur Programme and the Fitness and Amateur Sport Programme. The former involves one staff member and the latter programme is considered a peripheral responsibility of the Agency. A

detached worker in Sydney and another in Digger House in Halifax are employed by the Agency. A member of the Agency staff works at the Adult Education Centre in Tatamagouche. At this centre, young rural people are involved in human relations and leadership training.

The Agency initiates programmes through government departments. For example, the Social Development Branch of the Department of Welfare hired eight young people for the summer, and taught them about trees, forests, pulp and paper and conservation. Another programme initiated by the Youth Agency and carried out by the Department of Welfare involved the hiring of approximately 50 young people to help prepare former mental patients to return to the community.

The Agency also provides grants to the three Municipalities or Recreation Commissions demonstrating the most initiative in planning youth programmes.

Because of its limited budget, the Agency uses small amounts of "seed" money to generate projects. Decisions, respecting the desires and opinions of the recipients, are made collectively. The recipients include both youth and adults, since the idea of categorizing youth as a distinct group is rejected by the Agency staff.

Ontario

The Government of Ontario established a Select Committee on Youth in 1964. It was charged with the responsibility of conducting a comprehensive investigation into the needs of Ontario youth, with particular reference to educational, cultural, recreational and employment opportunities, as well as the availability of health, welfare, and sports activities. After two years of research and public hearings the Committee recommended the establishment of a provincial department of youth. Like Alberta, the proposed structure would have had recreation as its primary function. It would administer all programmes currently under other departments, serve as a research and information centre, and develop new programmes.

The government did not implement these recommendations. Instead, in June 1968, the Legislature established a Youth and Recreation Branch within the Department of Education. The Branch grew out of an amalgamation of the Community Programme Section and the Youth Branch of the Education Department. The philosophical basis of the new Branch rejected a strong hierarchical structure to programme youth activities. Instead, it aimed to provide leadership and assistance for the development of Ontario communities - with particular emphasis on young people and the encouragement of creative use of leisure time. The Branch was to act as a catalyst with emphasis on local initiative and programming. Since direct programming was to be limited, most work is done through existing community organizations. The responsibility for programming, planning, and evaluation rests with potential participants and local agencies. Although Ontario has identified youth as all those between the ages of 14 and 24, it has not isolated them from other groups.

Structure

Within the Department of Education, the Youth and Recreation Branch reports to the Assistant Deputy Minister in charge of Further Schools and Other Education.

Under the Director, the Branch is divided into five sections: camps, research centre, community programmes, youth, and recreation (further divided into a recreation unit, a cultural unit, and a leadership training unit). Five Assistant Superintendants of the community programme section are located regionally. In addition, the Branch has consultants throughout the province. These officers are legally and theoretically responsible to the Youth and Recreation Branch director but in practice are responsible to the regional director of education with whom they share offices. The consultants have a responsibility to work with municipalities,

particularly those involved in recreation and education. Most of the work is carried out in the community itself and there are few administrators located in Toronto. An advisory committee of "articulate" youth, appointed by district consultants, is in the planning stages.

The following departments and government agencies are involved in youth programmes: Education; Health; Mines; Reform Institutes; Transportation; Attorney-General; Provincial Secretary; Agriculture; Lands and Forests; the Athletic Commission; the Ontario Council for the Arts; Training Schools; Alcoholism and Drug Addiction Research Foundation; and the Ontario Research Foundation in the Department of Economics. There is a committee of sub-ministerial officials who meet regularly to discuss youth and youth related problems.

The Branch will cost-share projects with municipalities but will not provide direct grants. The provincial share is determined by the district consultant. Examples of existing cost-sharing projects include The Mayor's Committee on Youth in Ottawa, Youth Enterprises in Bridgetown, and the Drop-in Centre in Hanover. Leadership programmes financed by the Branch are restricted to those programmes which are not able to obtain funds from other sources.

Recreation Section

This Section works with municipal recreation centres to offer opportunities for people of all ages to use their increased leisure time productively. It provides grants based on the municipal expenditures for recreation to municipal councils that plan, encourage, and develop such programmes.

It undertakes the development of training programmes for leaders, coaches, and instructors, and the organization and sponsorship of regional institutes for those who wish to qualify as teachers of recreation and informal education classes.

In addition, the Recreation Section operates sensitivity training and teaching programmes at Provincial Institutes, and physical education programmes at both the college and university levels. Clinics are operated to upgrade coaching and officiating in amateur sport, and to certify municipal recreation personnel and area managers. At present they are encouraging the formation of a single broadly based professional organization for recreation in Ontario.

The Branch also administers leadership training at the Ontario Athletic Leadership Centre at Lake Couchiching and the Ontario Camp Leadership Centre at Bark Lake. Bark Lake has recently become an unstructured, co-educational camp where 120 people between the ages of 16-20 determine their own programme.

The Ontario Craft Foundation and staff special-

ists in the cultural activities section promote cultural aspects of the use of leisure time.

Community Programmes

The Community Programmes Section, under the district consultants, initiates both social action and adult educational programmes. The consultants provide regional education programmes and attempt to bring youth and adults together at the community level. The Section also conducts conferences and seminars regularly.

Resource Centre

The Resource Centre of the Youth and Recreation Branch is concerned with the development of resources to help the community shape approaches to youth and youth problems. The Branch provides a collection of books, tapes, papers, periodicals, and films. A library of reference books on recreation topics has been recently updated primarily in the area of community development, teaching arts and crafts, and family life education. The drama loan service provides textbooks on theatre, arts and plays, while the music section lends orchestral or choral music.

Youth Section

The Youth Section itself has neither a large budget nor a large staff. As recreation remain the chief preoccupation of the Branch, the Youth Section has been mainly involved in research and fact-finding activities. However, two youth programmes have been developed on community integration and self-programming. Since there is a fairly small bureaucracy in Toronto, planning and implementation of all programmes occur primarily through the consultants at the community level.

A programme which exemplifies one of the several successful community involvement projects is the Ontario Youtheatre in Newcastle. It was founded in 1968 by 49 people between the ages of 19-25. The project, including lighting and the building of the stage, was undertaken by the young people. A community hall provided the facilities, and financial support came from the Youth and Recreation Branch, the United Automobile Workers, the Counties of Durham and Northumberland, and individual patrons.

The Youth in Action programme, established in 1968, is designed to help young people to become involved in community activities which affect their lives. The youth worker, whose main function is to aid local youth in articulating their needs, reports to the district consultant of the Branch and to the recreation director of the municipality. In summer of 1968, 35 university and high school students worked in various Ontario municipalities under cost-shared plans. To date, most workers have been assigned to small towns, but the Branch plans to introduce more youth workers into urban centres.

Manitoba

Initially, a Division of Youth and Manpower within the Department of Education focused upon employment and career guidance for youth. A recent reorganization resulted in a Department of Youth and Education which has within it a Youth and Manpower Division responsible for administering and developing vocational institutions. Other youth programmes are the responsibility of many different departments.

The Manitoba government is discussing the establishment of a youth policy. The future of such a philosophical and organizational framework depends in part on three experimental programmes developed for summer 1970 and the conclusions of a study initiated in the fall of 1970.

The Department of Youth and Education allocated $100,000 to establish a student placement office. The office began by compiling an inventory of all provincial government jobs and established the service as a clearing house for student summer employment in private industry and in government. Creating jobs where none currently exist has been limited to the establishment of a summer camp which employs students as counsellors.

The second experimental programme of the Department is the summer camp itself. Established on an abandoned American radar base, the camp is designed for socially deprived children between 10 and 12. There is one student counsellor for every eight of the 250 Winnipeg children who attend the camp.

The founding of a student placement service, the creation of jobs through the establishment of a summer camp and the tripling of student aid have been positive steps to help alleviate the chronic lack of employment for students.

The third experimental programme, also related to the scarcity of summer employment, is the summer youth hostel operated and financed by the government.

The direction that the Province of Manitoba takes will, in the final analysis, rest upon the articulation of an over-all policy of social development. To that extent, the situation is in flux - but the significant thesis in the Manitoba experience is that youth will be placed within the larger context of community and social development.

Quebec

Quebec's four Prime Ministers since 1965 each promised the implementation of a youth policy. Each government made limited changes. The resultant impression is that many things are being done for youth without there being any formal model of government policy.

The Union Nationale Government proposed the creation of the two major youth programming organizations which still exist - *Haut Commissariat à la Jeunesse, aux Loisirs et aux Sports,* (H.C.J.L.S.), and *Office Franco-Québécois pour la Jeunesse,* (O.F.Q.J.).

Structure of the H.C.J.L.S.

Following recent administrative changes, the office staff of the H.C.J.L.S. remains limited considering its responsibility over four branches: youth, leisure, sports, and outdoor recreation activities.

The organization is responsible to the Minister of Education, but does its own planning, financing, and programming. Previously, the H.C.J.L.S. was under the Department of Tourism. The move to Education was made because the government believed the activities covered by the H.C.J.L.S. (recreation, leisure planning) were concerned mainly with students. By linking leisure and recreational planning with the education system, under-used school equipment could be used more profitably.

Youth Branch

The Youth Branch consists of an organization called the *Action Sociale Jeunesse,* (A.S.J.). Until recently this group was separate from the H.C.J.L.S., under the Department of Education. Following the amalgamation of these two latter organizations, the A.S.J. director would become the director of youth under the H.C.J.L.S. The A.S.J. has its own budget and funds social action projects by young people. Occasionally, the government supplies additional money for projects it wants funded through the A.S.J.

Leisure Branch

The Leisure Branch has one director dealing with the *Confédération des Loisirs Socio-Culturels du Québec* (C.L.Q.). The C.L.Q. is a para-governmental confederation of organizations which deals with socio-cultural recreation. It works through a general assembly and gets its funds through the H.C.J.L.S.

Sports Branch

Like the Leisure Branch, the Sports Branch has one director who deals mainly with the *Confédération des*

Sports du Québec (C.S.Q.). The Mandate of the C.S.Q. is to plan, control and implement all sports programmes. Like the C.L.Q., it acts as an intermediary with a general assembly and gets its funds from the H.C.J.L.S.

Outdoor Recreation Branch

The creation of this Branch came after repeated demands over the past three years from the *Confédération Québécoise du Plein Air* (C.Q.P.A.). One of the key directors became director of leisure and outdoor recreation within the H.C.J.L.S. At present, the outdoor programming policy of the H.C.J.L.S. has not been completed and the status of the Branch is still to be determined.

L'Office Franco-Québécois pour la Jeunesse

The *Office Franco-Québécois pour la Jeunesse* (O.F.Q.J.) remains separate from the H.C.J.L.S. and autonomous. It is responsible for the youth exchange programme between France and Quebec. Although O.F.Q.J. has its own budget, it must co-operate with government departments to implement its programmes. It reports to the Minister of Communications who is the co-chairman.

Conclusions

The analysis of provincial models produced some similar patterns: provincial governments have responded mainly to the youth question in a traditional manner. Most structures do not reflect or adequately respond to the changing values and attitudes of youth.

There is also a striking similarity in programmes and priorities. The agencies view their programmes as supplementary to the education system and, as a result, attempt to provide facilities and programmes not found in the education system. Many of these programmes were designed to give form to the unstructured time of youth.

Alberta's response to youth problems is traditional: the establishment of a department with power, money, and well-organized programmes. The Department considers itself supplementary to the programmes within the formal education system. It seeks to organize youth's leisure time through recreation, clubs and camp facilities. The Department's attitudes and aspirations for youth are reinforced by the inflexible bureaucratic structure of the Department, and bear little resemblance to what young people want.

The semi-autonomous Nova Scotia Youth Agency is responsible to the Minister of Education, but the Agency avoids the structured education system. It has no programmes of its own, although it administers federal-provincial programmes. Traditional methods of dealing with youth, through, for example, recreational sports are of minimal importance. The Agency prefers to remain small and flexible, working through other agencies. Because it has a limited budget, it uses the "seed money" method to generate outside funds. The Agency thus puts itself as close to the people as possible.

The Ontario approach is significant because of the duality of emphasis in programming: one aspect is traditional and focuses on the provision of recreation; the other is community-oriented and aims to provide innovative support staff. The Ontario Youth and Recreation Branch is therefore a compromise between the Alberta and Nova Scotia models. Unlike Alberta, Ontario rejected a structured department in favour of a branch within the existing Department of Education which would treat youth as a part of a total community. Although it has deviated from Alberta in some ways, Ontario has followed that pattern in other areas. The largest budgetary allocations and programme emphasis have been on recreation organized in the customary hierarchical fashion.

In the belief that programmes should be initiated and operated at the community level with support from the government, the Ontario Branch resembles the Nova Scotia model. Such an approach offers the individuals in a community the opportunity to determine their own priorities

and allocate their time and resources according to their values.

Manitoba is reviewing the former status and role of their Youth and Manpower Division within the Department of Education. They are evaluating also the larger question of their own role toward youth with emphasis on the community as a whole and the relationship of youth to that community. The proposed Manitoba secretariat would function as a co-ordinating body for existing information on youth programmes and experiment with new approaches in areas of concern to youth.

In contrast to the possible action of Manitoba, the Quebec model reflects a relatively traditional method of dealing with youth. The recent move to place the H.C.J.L.S. within the Department of Education could maintain a student-oriented youth policy at the expense of the young workers.

The fact that the H.C.J.L.S. and the O.F.Q.J. are two separate entities does nothing to aid co-ordination.

Although the Quebec model has changed often during the last few years and will continue to change, the change seems to be regressive towards traditional forms of programmes.

Chapter VI
The Company of Young Canadians

Introduction

The Company of Young Canadians (CYC) cannot be overlooked in an examination of Canadian youth today. Not only is it a major government-sponsored organization in the field of youth, but also it constitutes a recognition by government of the validity of institutional change. As the first organization of this sort in Canada, it merits close examination if future activity in this field is to profit from its initial experience.

Background

The first public announcement of the intention to form the CYC came in the Speech from the Throne on April 5, 1965. Ten days later the Prime Minister appointed the Chairman of the Organizing Committee. Committee members first met on May 15 and their report was presented seven months later.

The Leddy Report

The Organizing Committee corresponded and met with many voluntary and governmental agencies, provincial and federal officials, private individuals and representatives of the United States Peace Corps, Vista and the Council of the International Secretariat for Voluntary Service.

In brief, the recommendations stated that the Company was to:

a) operate with a maximum degree of independence;

b) co-operate with voluntary agencies and with departments of federal and provincial governments to the greatest possible extent;

c) respond to the demonstrated need of foreign governments and agencies in full respect of their goals and priorities;

d) respect regional, cultural and geographic distinctions and avoid duplication of services;

e) involve and reflect the best qualities of initiative and enterprise of Canadian youth;

f) seek to help resolve causes of hardship, inequality and poverty;

g) provide adequate support for each volunteer;

h) pay special attention in establishing priorities, selecting programmes, and placing volunteers, to give opportunity for personal growth of the volunteers;

i) continually evaluate projects on the basis of goals, principles and criteria.

Suggested methods of operating included:

a) provision of volunteers to a volunteer agency or government department;

b) provision of volunteers and financial support to an agency (e.g., Frontier College);

c) provision of financial assistance on a contract basis (e.g., CUSO);

d) initiation of projects by the Company.

Although all four areas were to be explored by the Company, the first three have been virtually untouched.

Lack of Guidelines

Neither the Leddy Report nor the Act creating the Company gave any clear administrative guidelines for the realization of the goals held out for the organization. Although the intention was to give the Company a "free-hand", this omission deprived it of clarity of purpose and adequate support, both internal and external. The Company was launched as an inchoate entity not readily comprehensible to established bureaucracy.

For example, at no point was the relationship of the structure to the government and to its goals adequately clarified. A solution was never found to the problem of how to link the diffuse goals of people working with people to a structure which in turn was tied to the federal government. The Report stated that the CYC was to be given "a maximum degree of independence", but this raised the question of how the government would guarantee that CYC objectives be met.

Another source of trouble was the assertion of the Report that the learning process of the volunteers would be an important criterion of success. Nothing was said to clarify which was more important - the project or volunteers - and there were no clear criteria for either.

The difficulties encountered in all these areas were exacerbated by a lack of strong and consistent leadership. In two years - 1966 to 1968 - there were four executive directors.

The Functioning Entity

The Company of Young Canadians Act passed in 1966 outlined a three-part structure: The Council of the Company, the central administration and the personnel.

The Council

The Council was to consist of 20 members: 15 were to be elected by the volunteers with the remaining 5 appointed by the government. Initially, all 20 were ap-

pointed. The Provisional Council was to create the initial budget, recommend an executive director, hire administrative staff and choose the volunteers. Members included persons from a wide variety of backgrounds: Students Union for Peace Action (SUPA), Canadian Union of Students (CUS), civil service, YMCA, universities and the church.

The original appointees to the Provisional Council remained until 1969 when the first election by volunteers occurred. In December of that year, on the recommendation of the House Committee investigating the Company, the Council was disbanded and a comptroller was appointed.

From the start, the Prime Minister's office maintained very close contact with the Company: a member of his staff was specifically responsible for liason with the CYC. Because of previous positions and associations, some council members had direct access to the Prime Ministers' office: other members did not. It was natural that this variance in lines of communication contributed to a certain degree of mistrust and instability within the Council.

During the first year of operation, Council spent much of its time discussing goals of the CYC and possible training methods. Shortly after taking office it found itself dealing with one crisis after another. Issues such as volunteer political behaviour, media coverage and the budget cut of November 1967 became its major concerns. With undefined Council powers and with no time to devise routine methods by which problems could be dealt with administratively, the Council became a problem-confronting rather than a problem-solving body.

The lack of cohesion among members meant that problems were more difficult to resolve. The "provisional" nature of the Council did not offer stability to its members, and government was not prepared to accept plans for a Permanent Council without proof that the storms could be weathered. In the face of inadequate and unclear direction from the Council, the executive director and his staff assumed larger responsibility than originally intended, further limiting the effectiveness of the Provisional Council. As their interest declined, Council members were in no position to administer the affairs of the Company. In 1969, the full Provisional Council held only two meetings before October when the Permanent Council was installed.

The new Permanent Council was immediately confronted with a situation in which all effective power had been taken over by the administrative staff. The Permanent Council was rendered incapable of making decisions. Its first chairman resigned, and it ceased to function with the appointment of the comptroller in December 1969.

Amendments to the CYC Act recommended a Council of between seven and nine members, to be appointed by the government. The first meeting of this Council took place on May 9-10, 1970. It remains to be seen whether it will regain credibility and authority within the Company.

Central Administration

The CYC administrative structure was shaped largely by the ideas of a few people appointed to the special planning secretariat of the Privy Council in 1965. They reported that the possibility of creating a viable national organization was remote. They aimed instead at regionalization: regional directors were appointed in 1965-66 to co-ordinate field operations and communications with central office.

The interim executive director and his successor both attempted to establish clear-cut lines of authority and control. The intention was that the executive director be "under the direction of the Council": rarely if ever was he able to assume such authority. He was thus allowed (or forced) to step into a power vacuum, and this further bolstered the central administrative machinery. The leadership of the interim executive director and the first permanent director was described as weak - handicapped by a confused relationship with the Council, the government and the field.

The CYC could have become a body of specialists composed of people with backgrounds in social action and social service recruited for their specific talents and accomplishments. Then they could have been co-ordinated by a small administrative staff.

Generally however, professionalism has been the exception. The CYC placed volunteers in a strong position, both on projects and in the governing of the whole organization. The volunteer by definition was not professionally trained (at least at the outset).

The CYC was also characterized by disagreements on goals and on the means to achieve them. Such disagreements made it very difficult to delegate authority to professionals, and, in fact, to identify the professional qualifications in the first place. Ignorance of professional resources and an implicit mistrust of what professionals might accomplish in the Company existed from the beginning. It was assumed that young and inexperienced people were most likely to have the flexibility and enthusiasm essential to the success of the Company.

Another alternative for the CYC would have been to develop along the lines of other government agencies. Policy would be formulated at the top with the Council's advice and directives passed down for implementation. Offices would have been set up across the country, and projects carefully administered. The Council would have concentrated on policy and left everything else to the bureaucrats.

As it turned out, efficiency and rationality never became the sole criteria for task and volunteer evaluation.

Project personnel defined only vaguely duties and levels of authority in the field. Council members felt a strong commitment to "participatory democracy" with a specifically anti-bureaucratic emphasis. This commitment, which pervaded the whole organization, together with an inability to work out its structural implications through the CYC, was responsible for continual tension in the organization.

Often a positive force, it led at times to tremendous frustration at all levels. Bureaucratic means were at times used ineptly, even punitively. The inability to mesh philosophical principles of "participatory democracy" with a concomitant organization structure proved a constant source of frustration to most personnel. The failure to resolve the dilemma inhibited strong action.

Personnel

The burgeoning development of social activism in Canada in the '60's and the growing awareness of the failure of traditional structures to effectively ameliorate social and economic inequalities led many into the CYC because it was perceived as holding the potential for change. At the beginning, people with real commitment to social action were attracted to the CYC. The fact that initial recruitment was often conducted through friendship ties and common past experience increased the sense of shared values and goals. Later periods of recruitment did not rely primarily on this system; professional criteria became more important and recruitment was more diffuse.

The CYC, however, never seemed able to move with unity of operation and goal. The union of committed activists and the federal government was a strained one. While willing to co-operate and experiment within the new agency, the social activists remained cynical about the government's real commitment to change and were determined neither to be deflected from their militant goals nor to have their leadership co-opted.

The CYC as originally defined was oriented to "youth", but there was no indication in the Leddy Report or the Act to specify which youth were involved. In their desire to impose workable guidelines, as they saw them, the early members excluded working youth, students and youth with responsibilities for family support. Young people with a concern for social problems and social inequalities were recruited from outside these categories.

A lamentable failure of the CYC was its inability to incorporate young Canadians with specific technical or academic skills into service. Indeed an ideological hostility to such persons was frequently apparent. The CYC at no time developed anything resembling a national constituency either for recruitment or for support of its goals.

Unlike most organizations committed to social change, the CYC did not emerge as the result of a long and gradual development: it was the immediate creation of government action. As a consequence there was no ready-made source from which experienced leaders could emerge. Once in operation, the geographic spread of the CYC network, coupled with communication problems, inhibited the development of a strong indigenous leadership. Leaders did emerge who represented certain types of individuals with specific interests. Their inability to relate to a broad range of persons however, was a major factor which further reinforced limited recruitment.

Training

The history of volunteer training in the four years of the Company is one of unfulfilled intentions and misplaced emphasis rather than achieved goals. From the beginning, training was presumed to be crucial. The Leddy Report stressed training, and outlined a structure within the Company to "emphasize human relations and self-knowledge . . . (and to) provide the volunteer with the skills and techniques required for his work." It suggested a separate training division within the Company headed by an assistant director.

During the first two years, volunteer training was centrally organized. It was marked by lack of planning, absence of research on teaching methods, and lack of policy alterations in programmes to coincide with changing ideas. There was no relationship to project content and no factual material. It was restricted in fact to sensitivity training.

In the first two years, volunteer training was given in five major sessions. In the first three, the emphasis was upon sensitivity and self-awareness, community development and social animations, and participatory democracy. Since trainers had little specific understanding of training goals, the content was highly abstract. The heavy reliance on sensitivity training produced internal problems such as extensive interpersonal antagonisms. This type of training was discontinued in 1967. The later sessions in Ottawa featured a shift of emphasis to increased concrete information relevant for project activities; and, particularly, the utilization of short-term field-placement during training.

For the following 18 months, training was mainly "on-project" in an attempt to familiarize new volunteers with local problems and to develop strategies for solution. During this time, project personnel developed training for volunteers and made selection decisions. Some found the informality in training a challenge while others found it severely inhibiting.

In the winter of 1969-70, the central office

required each project director to launch a clearly-defined three-month training programme for each provisional volunteer. The impetus for this move came mainly from the Parliamentary hearings and directives of the comptroller.

These moves had little effect on projects, partly because there were very few new volunteers being recruited at this time, partly because project staff were leery of central office directives and tended to resist their new suggestions and, more importantly, because central office failed to suggest how such programmes might be established. Varying the training produced few apparent changes in the volunteer drop-out rate or in project goal-attainment. Contrary to general opinion, our analysis leads us to conclude that strong projects provide the most effective training.

Given the nature of the Company and its goals, one might ask if the amount of time and resources given to training was warranted. It may well be that formal training is of relatively little use either to the success of the Company or to the benefit of the volunteers. If this is the case, then the recent Ottawa pressure for re-establishment of formalized training may give rise to the same problems which have occurred in the past.

Selection and Placement

Selection and placement procedures have changed as much as training since the first volunteers joined the Company in 1966. Then, a single staff person screened formal applications and chose those to be invited to pre-selection sessions. Skill and aptitude inventories were used in processing applications, but few criteria were ever established for their evaluation. Personality characteristics were also not specified.

In 1968, the average age of volunteers was 23; in 1969, 24½. Both figures include a few past 40 and others in their late teens. In terms of education, (in 1969) ⅓ of the volunteers had graduated from college, ⅔ had some post-secondary education, about ⅓ were high school graduates, and slightly less than ⅓ were high school dropouts.

When regional staff were phased-out and project influence increased, the projects themselves became the principal recruiting agents. The central staff played only a small role. They formally ratified a person's entrance into the three-month training period and his subsequent selection to full volunteer status. In only a few instances after 1968 did the central office actually select and place an applicant who had applied directly to Ottawa.

Most staff interviewed were quite frank about the failure of the Company to generate explicit and consistent criteria for selection and placement - criteria which would be readily measurable for each applicant and reliably predictive of the volunteer traits sought by the Company. What emerged was an informal, often unintentional and implicit reliance on specific clues.

For example, in the period of centralized training, with a marked reliance on small-group inter-action techniques, verbal skills and overt self-reliance scored heavily. It is questionable whether an apparent sophistication or self-confidence of this type would provide an accurate indication of field performance.

In the period when recruiting was done on projects, the philosophical expressions were less important than actual performance. On location, the applicants were usually familiar with at least some aspects of the project and with some personnel. The need for re-orientation was therefore considerably reduced. Project staff were unanimous in preferring project-based selection.

The recent tendency towards recruitment of trainees known to project personnel serves to reduce selection error and contributes to a sense of project solidarity. However, it does not increase the number of applicants, nor does it produce among the public a view of the Company as an accessible vehicle for social change. With no general criteria for choice of volunteers there is danger of project self-perpetuation and of the selection of persons who are "politically acceptable" to project personnel.

The Projects

In February 1970, the Company had 33 ongoing projects. Of these, fourteen were in Quebec, eight in Ontario, four in British Columbia, two in Alberta, and one each in Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Northwest Territories and the Maritimes, with one being classified as a national project. However, some of these were on a "danger list" administratively, and may no longer be in existence. In February the Ottawa office expressed negative opinions on four of these, conditional approval of fourteen, and positive responses to only fifteen projects.

At that time, the average duration of projects was 22 months; within this average, five lasted over three years (four in British Columbia and one in Alberta), and two were of less than six months duration (one in Manitoba and one in Quebec). Of the 14 projects located in Quebec, 11 began early in 1969.

The average time of a volunteer's contract was 11 months; in three projects volunteers were terminating their contracts immediately, while in 23 projects the longest contracts would continue over 16 months. The average number of approved volunteers per project was 4.43, one project had only one volunteer, and four others had nine each. One of Quebec's projects had 20 volunteers approved.

Of the 33 projects studied, 25 were attached to existing organizations. This is understandable in view of the diversity of project activities: day-care centres (1); handicrafts (1); pensioners (8); Workmen's Compensation (8); regular schools (7); community leadership (6); transient youth (6); trade schools (5); adult education (5); low income groups (5); work with Canadian Indians (3); tenant problems (3); ex-convicts (3); work with service institutions (3); physically handicapped (2); backward children (2); housing and information centres (2). Other projects included among their activities: work with immigrants, human rights, drop-outs and drug addicts, publication of a newsletter, and involvement in radio and television.

Project Initiation and Evaluation

A project is initiated by the central office in Ottawa or by a particular community which submits a brief concerning problems in their area and outlining how the CYC volunteers could work on them. The Council then decides whether a project can go ahead and the amount of financial support it can receive.

From analysis of several projects, it seems that no firm criteria have ever been set up for evaluation of briefs and no clear guidelines for the applicant to follow. Yet these briefs establish directions for projects and are often the only basis for assessing their success. When consultants are called in to evaluate projects, they are often given very indefinite terms of reference, so that emphasis is on the extent to which initial aims and plans have been followed.

Once a project is approved, progress reports are expected to be sent to Ottawa periodically. No hard and fast rules exist here - either for regularity or for content.

Communication between the Ottawa office and field projects is one of the principal problems facing the Company today. People in the field are reluctant to submit reports when they are not certain that the Ottawa office takes seriously what they write - or that the report will even be read. The lack of response to their reports leads to the feeling of isolation, and sometimes to the decision not to communicate at all. Even worse, comments made in these reports have often been misinterpreted by the Ottawa office, and thus many feel increasingly reluctant to report on project progress or difficulties.

On the other hand, if all 33 projects reported constantly to Ottawa, the central office would be swamped. The ratio of office staff to field staff was always low. When a field volunteer or staff person has something urgent to say or request of the Ottawa office, he wants personal attention to his request in the briefest possible time.

Evaluation leaves much to be desired. In most cases "experts" are recruited from outside the project community. They observe carefully, as a rule, whether the project has kept to its original proposal, since too much deviance from this is considered undesirable. Given the nature of the Company and the vagueness in assessing the initial briefs, this may not be a reliable measure of project success.

Evaluators often attempt to assess community reaction to the Company's presence. On projects, few volunteers present themselves explicitly as members of the Company, so the local residents often know them only by their first names or know projects only by the results of their efforts. These residents may have never heard of the Company of Young Canadians. In such cases any "successes" may never be attributed to the CYC. On the other hand, those most likely to have heard of the Company are persons whose positions and power are being threatened, or whose exploitation of poverty groups is being exposed by Company activity. In this respect, complaints against projects can as easily grow from successes as from failures, but will be explicitly directed against the CYC as the offending "outside" agent.

Project Budgets

Projects budgets ranged widely from $4,380 to $113,600. Five projects had budgets over $50,000. Since almost two-thirds had budgets of less than $30,000, the average was $28,000. Of the five projects in the over $50,000 range, two were in Ontario and one each in Quebec, the Maritimes (now phased out) and the Northwest Territories. The rest of Quebec's projects (13) and five of Ontario's were under $30,000.

The budget for each project is broken down into specific categories, and it is difficult to transfer funds from one of these to another when local circumstances require it. Budget controls, according to field staff, have become even tighter since the appointment of a comptroller.

Volunteer allowances and salaries, if a project has staff personnel, take up the major part of a project's budget, but are the least disputed items on it. It is exceedingly difficult to budget precisely for items, such as travelling, special services and communications, particularly when one is unfamiliar with the situation and when project aims are vague and diffuse. A given item may vary considerably from one situation to another. For example, a city project may require a very limited budget while a rural one may involve air-fare or other modes of transportation, depending on the season of the year.

Methods of supplying funds constituted another major problem. Except for a limited amount of petty cash, every major spending item needs first to be estimated and sent to Ottawa for approval - even if already authorized in the budget - before funds are allocated. In some rural proj-

ects this was particularly frustrating since the time elapsed between the first request and the receipt of funds could be a matter of weeks or months. While there was undoubtedly some misuse of funds, the approval in advance for long distance calls and for automobile repairs caused wasteful and irritating delays. Several project staff suggested a more workable solution whereby a project would receive one-quarter of its annual budget in advance, after the initial budget approval.

Communication with Head Office

The success of the CYC depends on its volunteers who often feel isolated from Ottawa and powerless in the running of the Company. Where projects have no competent staff person, the volunteer has no help with problems and often little contact with other volunteers.

While there was little communication between volunteers on scattered rural projects, there was even less from project to project. Some contact would have been encouraging and informative to the volunteers and enriching to the Company as a whole. Project workers interviewed early in 1970 indicated that there have been increasing bureaucratic demands from the CYC's head office, with the result that less time is available to participate directly in project work. They strongly advocated moves towards decentralization, and expressed the need for regular visits by head office - or regional office - staff at least every three months so that mutual understanding could be improved.

Government and Community Reaction to the CYC

Criticism of the CYC must be placed within the context of general government involvement with social issues. It is evident that even those departments established in the early years of the war on poverty which have enormous financial, organizational and bureaucratic resources, and which operate in traditional ways, have not fulfilled the promise of substantially reducing poverty. The CYC represented an effort to bring government officials directly into contact with what might be considered a significantly different approach, with a new mode of action.

Government vacillation towards the Company's need for official legitimation and support led to compromises about the autonomy of the Company. The government began its curtailment early in the history of the CYC, as indicated by the first budget cut in 1967. On several occasions the government considered disbanding the Company, and its survival appears to have been largely a matter of saving face. Government vacillation was demonstrated in the appointment - and later withdrawal - of the comptroller, the

appointment of the present executive director, the Saulnier affair and the Parliamentary investigation.

One suspects that this government ambivalence, which is evident with regard to many Crown agencies, stems from the reluctance of bureaucrats, civil servants and the government itself to engage in direct social amelioration. Involvement is undertaken only with reluctance.

At the outset, the Company chose to be moralistic and ideological in its action and operation more than political and tactical. Thus, throughout its operations, it clearly reflected the ambience of attitude and philosophical concern of many young Canadians.

Critical to an understanding of the CYC is its clear rejection of the organizational and bureaucratic assumptions of our society. Within the CYC, there were a few individuals, who, politically or financially, attempted to "rip-off" the CYC, justifying these actions by their blatant contempt for the federal government and Canadian society generally. This hostility represented the intellectual position of a certain number of staff members and volunteers.

The CYC received rather more than its fair share of criticism from the public, the media and from all levels of government in Canada. There have been attacks by those who hold positions of power who felt they were threatened by the Company. Lucien Saulnier, Chairman of the Executive Council of Montreal, could turn attention away from

the embarrassment of the police strike by accusing CYC volunteers of "subversive activity", while neglecting to mention that these same volunteers shared the people's demands for better housing projects rather than Expo '67.

The hostile negativism which saturates the majority of attitudes expressed by Canadians towards the CYC bears little relationship to the actual operation and to the extremely positive aspects of many CYC positions and actions across Canada. The only real failure that one can fairly attribute to the CYC is its own internal discordant functionings, which preclude realization - both in action and intention - of the philosophical and political goals it has chosen to establish for itself.

Government's naive assumption that the CYC could, with its slender budget and limited activities, serve all Canadian youth, is one aspect of the problem. It is equally evident that the initial founders of the Company projected the image that they and this organization would be able to accomplish that astonishingly broad goal. It became painfully evident that such was not the case.

In sum, the experiment forces us to ask whether, when creating an independent agency such as the CYC, the government has not the responsibility to supply the basic, necessary support - morally, administratively and financially - to guarantee a chance of success. To deny this assistance and ask an organization to support all levels of youth work, to engage in projects of general social service and action, to do so using techniques which challenge traditional bureaucratic methods, and to develop participatory democracy both within the agency and within the communities served, on a scale never contemplated before by a Canadian government is, at the very least, unfair and unrealistic.

Conclusion

Inconsistencies were built into the CYC from the beginning. The Leddy Report combined recommendations for service by young Canadians in experimental community development and social action with other recommendations for work in "straight" or traditional youth areas and voluntary organizations. Never was any mechanism suggested or established to enable the CYC to avoid having one or other of these aspects take over. No structural means of allowing these two tendencies, which co-exist with difficulty, to survive together within the organization was provided. Future developments must structurally permit such co-existence.

Structurally, the CYC was threatened from the start. The lack of regional offices resulted in excessive concentration of authority in Ottawa, with the consequent deterioration of communications. Support staff, who should have been close to the field, were out of touch and out of reach. Where attempts to regionalize surveillance were made, they failed because the regional directors were granted an insufficient degree of autonomy. There was no local authority in a positive position to decide whether projects suggested were indeed feasible or desirable with the result that central planners had to assume this task for which they had insufficient data.

Organizational patterns within the CYC were not defined with enough clarity; this created a power vacuum. As with all vacuums, this one had to be filled and the resulting internal power conflicts prevented effective action.

Given the intellectual stands taken by most Company participants, there developed a short-sighted refusal to have anything to do with the projects of any type other than community development work. Service projects were contemptuously looked upon as "band-aid" projects.

If a single criticism of the CYC must be made, it is that the Company did not grow out of Canada's needs as expressed on a local and specific basis but rather out of an expressed but inarticulate feeling that "something" to involve youth in society and government was needed.

The natural result was that the CYC was poorly structured and, in its provision of services, was in tune with the local needs more often by chance than by design.

The CYC was fragmented from the start by the divergencies of interest built into the role of Council, the executive director, central office staff and project personnel. Mobilization of CYC people was weakened by ideological segmentation, physical isolation, differing contexts of tasks and positions, and finally by the sheer size of Canada and the breadth of the Company's nationwide mandate.

Nothing quite overcame ideological differences, conflict of personalities, gulfs in experience of volunteers and staff in the various regions of Canada.

Evidence suggests that unless the CYC undergoes a series of significant changes in organization and structure, it will continue to remain ineffective to the majority of Canadian youth, both as a service organization and as a body through which young Canadians can involve themselves in social action or social service.

Introduction

There are more than 80 different federal programmes within 20 departments and agencies which affect youth between the ages of 14 and 25. Although the programmes exhibit a very wide range of structures and approaches, certain patterns become apparent when they are examined in the light of the information set out in Chapters I and II on young people.

Funds and research resources did not allow an exhaustive examination of all programmes. This chapter represents a selection of the most important. (Other programmes of less immediate relevance are considered in a separate appendix filed with the federal government.)

Classification of many of these programmes is difficult. The Canada Student Loans Plan, for example, and the Travel and Exchange programmes, involve primarily young people. Others, like Occupational Training for Adults (OTA) and the Canada Assistance Plan (CAP), are of equal importance to young people but are aimed at the public as a whole. But the basic assumption that youth should not be treated as a class precluded a distinction between youth programmes *per se* and general programmes which involve youth. Programmes here are categorized by topic: Education; Employment; Travel and Exchange; Social and Community Development; Recreation; and Arts and Cultural Affairs. Since education and employment affect nearly all young people, these are examined more extensively.

This chapter examines federal programmes as they existed at the conclusion of our analysis (December 1970) in the light of what they are supposed to do as defined by their enabling acts and by the people in charge of them. To find out what young people themselves think about these programmes, and about the federal government in general, one must look to Chapter II on youth attitudes and opinions and Chapter IV on voluntary youth organizations. The recommendations in this chapter are concerned primarily with improving federal programmes within their present terms of reference. Recommendations affecting several departments or calling for some restructuring at the federal level are put forward in the recommendations at the conclusion of this Report.

Evaluative Criteria

In developing a basis for analyzing federal programmes, major consideration was given to the comments of young people and adults involved with them, both inside and outside government, across the country. Some of youth's most prevalent concerns were with such federal programmes as the Canada Student Loans Plan and retraining schemes, and for this reason they are considered at some length. Conversely, other federal programmes, even though designed primarily for youth, were relatively unknown, provoked little discussion, and therefore are considered in a separate appendix. On the basis of these discussions with youth, and in examining the approaches of several governments to this question, a number of normative principles gradually emerged:

— youth is not a class and therefore should not be considered as an homogeneous group;
— programmes must involve the people whom they affect, in terms of both planning and implementation;
— programmes must be executed at that level of government which most directly relates to the people whom the programme will affect.

On the basis of these principles, the following guidelines were used to evaluate each programme:

— are clients involved in any way in planning the programme;
— is information about the programme available, and are people aware that information is available;
— is the programme co-ordinated with other similar programmes;
— how is the programme evaluated, and are clients' opinions taken into account;
— is there enough money available to do the job effectively;
— is the programme one which must be undertaken by the federal government, or would it be better handled at another level, or by an independent or quasi-independent body?

In attempting to answer all these questions, the greatest difficulty is a general lack of specific information. In many instances, officials within a single department give conflicting answers to the same question - not because they are evasive, but because an individual's perception of a particular programme depends largely on his personal philosophy.

Almost without exception, programmes similar in scope and content are not co-ordinated. A young person wanting to learn about federal travel programmes, for example, will find that there is no central information source.

Although people were generally open and helpful, many reacted with defensiveness and sometimes clear mistrust. Some officials had not heard of the study; others felt they were being studied once too often; still others stated that they preferred to conduct their own evaluations. Often they felt - or appeared to feel - that certain types of information were sacrosanct.

A number of other commissions and committees of inquiry have remarked on the high priority which civil servants give to secrecy; this situation remains basically

unchanged. It may well be that much of the lack of co-ordination between departments results directly from this over-emphasis on confidentiality.

Another difficulty is that some departments do not appear to collect information which is vital to their own programmes. For example, in studying the Occupational Training for Adults programme (OTA), it was learned that, although the Department of Manpower knew how many people were taking part in the programme, they were unable to provide figures on how many people had applied for it. Clearly, such information is crucial to any kind of in-depth evaluation.

Section I - Education

Introduction

Education is discussed first because it is so important to Canadian youth who spend their formative years being educated, or at any rate, being "schooled". Of the nearly 3.8 million Canadians between 14 and 25, over a million are enrolled in the educational systems.

Education serves an "accreditation function". It determines the type of employment youth may seek and the extent to which they will succeed. "Stay in school and graduate" is rapidly becoming "stay in college until you have two degrees."

Youth itself is acutely conscious of the importance of education. Indeed, much of the current student revolt centres around the values placed on the present educational system.

The purpose of this analysis is not to document this revolt, nor to debate the merits and demerits of educational systems. Nor does it discuss the marked differences in attitudes towards education evident in different regions of the country, and among different socio-economic groups. The main concern here is with those facts which relate to the federal government's involvement in education at the post-secondary level, because this is the area in which the federal government is now concentrating its efforts.

An educated population is a national resource.

Education shapes the soul of a nation. "It is universally recognized that education enhances the quality of life of individuals, as well as the quality and energy of a whole society."[1] In spite of the serious criticisms of existing education, many individuals believe that education has the potential for increasing the richness of their lives.

At another level, others point to the argument that education has a significant economic dimension in that there is a direct relationship between education and economic growth. "Accumulating evidence and analysis point more and more to education as a pervasive and basic element contributing to the real earning potential of a people, and therefore also of the whole economy."[2] If a country wishes to increase its standard of living and its productivity, it must invest in human capital through education. Only the federal government has sufficient resources to make this investment.

1. Bertram, Gordon W. *The Contribution of Education to Economic Growth*. Economic Council of Canada, Staff Study No. 12, Ottawa, June 1966. p. 1.
2. *Ibid.* p. 61.

However, investment through education is increasingly postponing entry onto the job market rather than promoting the learning of particular skills.[3]

If there is a direct relationship between education and productivity, it follows equally that there is one between lack of education and poverty.

As the Economic Council of Canada has noted, families whose heads had less than a secondary education share a high incidence of low income, and constitute more than two-thirds of low-income families. "Provision of adequate income generally, plus deliberate special efforts to help those whose family circumstances tend to discourage persistence in education must form a highly important part of a policy against poverty."[4] Again, only the federal government has sufficient resources to alter this pattern.

It is also the responsibility of the federal government to overcome regional disparities.

"The factors underlying this variation (among regions in the average level of activity) include differences in the educational attainment of the labour force."[5]

Income disparities should be reduced "by assuring the fullest and most efficient use of each region's human and material resources".[6] The Atlantic Development Board has also remarked frequently on the wide variance between provinces in terms of expenditure on education. It is true that the federal government is involved in other programmes to overcome regional disparities but education is a particularly crucial and, perhaps, the most important area for equalization.

Re-examination of Policy and Programmes

Education is a national concern. The constitutional decision to make education a provincial domain, while politically expressed, was largely a religious one. But the situation today differs so much from that of 1867 that the current arrangement may well have to be revised. Even so, none of the arguments presented in favour of federal involvement in education contradict the constitution. Although Section 93 of the British North America Act makes education the responsibility of provincial governments, no constitutional barriers prevent the federal government from providing support to provincially initiated programmes or from providing direct aid to students. Indeed, the federal government by virtue of its spending power, using both of these methods, is spending over $1 billion annually.

Accessibility, based on ability and desire, to all levels of education (including post-secondary) is a right of citizenship. The relatively stagnant pattern of Canada's social stratification suggests education as the most obvious way of opening the portals.[7] Acceptance of this statement means that a positive input into the mechanisms surrounding the educational apparatus (e.g., counselling, standards, certification) is of concern to the federal government. These and similar factors involve questions of citizenship insofar as they have a direct bearing on mobility - both geographic and socio-economic.

Whatever one's viewpoint, the hundreds of millions spent by the federal government on behalf of post-secondary education cannot, by definition, be value free. Financial resources spent on that scale cannot help but shape and alter policy decisions. As a consequence, whatever course is chosen by the federal government, the goals for education should be made clear in order to reduce distortive effect. Although the federal government cannot become involved in the content of post-secondary education (e.g., curricula, hiring, etc.), it should make clear its position on accessibility and the implications of this role.

Federal schemes operate virtually independently of one another. Apart from the limited amount of co-ordination being attempted by the Education Support Branch of the Department of the Secretary of State, there has been almost no rationalization of the federal effort. There has been no serious attempt to evaluate these programmes properly, or to provide the public with solid information about them.

The federal government must take a hard look at all its educational programmes and ask itself what these programmes are intended to achieve? Are they designed to ensure maximum accessibility as a basic right of citizenship? If so, whom exactly do they benefit? Are they effective in equalizing educational opportunities to the point of ensuring geographic and socio-economic mobility? Are the groups and individuals whom these programmes affect being given a voice in their development and applications? Once these questions have been answered, the government should take steps to effectively co-ordinate its educational programmes.

In the absence of a firm definition of federal educational priorities, there is clearly a danger that federal

3. See Chapter 1.
4. *The Challenge of Growth and Change.* Economic Council of Canada, Fifth Annual Review. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, p. 116.
5. *Ibid.* p. 143.
6. *Ibid.* p. 144.
7. Porter, John. *The Vertical Mosaic.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965.

financial resources may be distributed unequally across the nation. Certain types of graduate and professional schools may be duplicated unnecessarily, while other programmes needed to fulfil important social and cultural needs may never be developed.

Since the federal government is currently providing funds for large amounts of the cost of post-secondary education, it should carry out the principles of an economically and socially just society by ensuring that federal educational policies are designed to make access to post-secondary education equally available to all Canadians.

A total of nine educational programmes were examined. Three are considered in an appendix: Bilingualism Development Programme, the Ethnic Participation Branch, and one scheme administered by the Department of Veterans Affairs, which provides educational benefits to the children of deceased or disabled veterans.

Of the remaining programmes, some obviously relate to the Committee's mandate much more directly than others. Thus, the Canada Student Loans Plan is thoroughly examined, as is the scheme through which officers are trained for the Canadian Armed Forces. On the other hand, only brief mention is made of Ottawa's $120 million programmes of support to research, since this has been studied elsewhere.[8]

The method of examination of the individual programmes gives a brief outline of the purpose of the scheme, an examination of how it works, and finally a consideration of its effectiveness.

The programmes analyzed are:

federal grants towards operating costs of post-secondary institutions;

Canada Student Loans Plan;

educational research;

military education programmes;

Youth Allowances;

summer language courses.

8. *University Research and the Federal Government.* Science Council of Canada, Report No. 5. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1969.

Post-Secondary Education Adjustment Payments

Departments Involved:
Finance and Secretary of State

Purpose of the Programme

The federal government, under the Federal-Provincial Fiscal Arrangements Act of 1967 transfers fiscal resources amounting to a minimum of one-half the total operating costs of post-secondary education in Canada. The responsibility is discharged through a complex system of transfers to the provinces, based on the total operating expenditures of universities and technical institutes.[9]

In 1970-71, this programme cost the federal treasury $768.8 million. It constitutes the major contribution of federal aid to education.

The scheme, presented at the Federal-Provincial Conference of October 1966, replaces an earlier one by which federal grants were made directly available to individual universities and colleges through the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada (AUCC). At the same time the government initiated the Occupational Training Act and withdrew direct support for technical schools.

How the Programme Works

Under the Act, post-secondary education is defined as education which:
— requires for admission the attainment of a level not lower than that of junior matriculation in the province;
— is not less than 24 weeks duration;
— is certified as a course of study at the post-secondary level by persons designated by the provincial Lieutenant Governors in Council for such purposes.

Thus, the programme with its transfer of resources to the provinces is clearly intended to benefit ultimately community colleges, CEGEP's, and technical institutes as well as universities.

"The Act, which became effective with the 1967-68 fiscal year, provides for federal transfers of fiscal resources to assist the provinces in meeting the rising costs of post-secondary education. It made provision for a province to receive for 1967-68 the higher of $15 per capita of population or 50% of eligible operating expenditures for post-secondary education incurred in the province. The Act also provided that, for the years 1968-69 to 1971-72 inclusive, each province originally on the per capita basis

9. For a full description see the Federal-Provincial Fiscal Arrangements Act, March 23, 1967. *Hansard,* Chapter 89.

(Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, and New Brunswick) would have its basic (i.e. 1967-68) transfer increased from year to year at the national rate of increase in eligible post-secondary education operating costs until the 50 per cent basis became more advantageous. Any province on the 50 per cent basis continues on that arrangement and cannot switch to the per capita (escalated) formula."[10]

The Department of Finance handles the equalization of the tax points while the cash transfers are administered by the Secretary of State, through its Education Support Branch. Payments are made monthly directly to the provinces, on the basis of one-twelfth of the annual estimates of the programme.

Effectiveness of the Programme

The Federal-Provincial Fiscal Arrangements Act is due for revision in 1972. Between 1968-69 and 1970-71, the cost of the programme to the federal treasury increased by $143 million. With rising demands for cutbacks in educational expenditures, the programmes will obviously come under careful review.

There are three serious disadvantages. First, each province arbitrarily decides the role which its educational institutions - and its educators and students - will play in making decisions about grants. The people within the institutions have surely some valuable experience and knowledge to contribute to the determination of these financial allocations. In this area, we recognize that the federal government cannot or would be unwilling to impose conditions upon this transfer of taxes which would compel the provinces to restructure their universities or colleges. We would remark that moral suasion should be exercised to encourage the provinces to allow total participation in educational institutions. As these are now virtually totally subsidized by governments, every effort should be made to allow administrators, faculty, students, staff, and public representatives to share governing power within these institutions.

Secondly, the interprovincial variations in education mean there is no common standard. This inevitably leaves many loopholes through which federal grants might at some time be applied to provincial programmes which are not primarily educational in content.

Most important, federal administrators would prefer to regard this legislation as merely an administrative device designed to share resources. Little effort has been made to articulate federal policy decisions in regard to these expenditures, beyond broad generalizations concerning the development of a highly educated population.

10. *Hansard*. vol. 113, no. 121. 1st Session, 28th Parliament. Honourable Gérard Pelletier; March 26, 1969.

1 Post-Secondary Education Adjustment Payments

Recommendation 1

Thus it is recommended:

a) that the revision of the Fiscal Arrangements Act in 1972 include a clear statement that tax transfer is for the purposes of post-secondary education;

b) that in preparing negotiations to revise the Fiscal Arrangements Act, the government request the advice of the Citizenship Branch of the Department of the Secretary of State to determine whether such transfers have improved educational opportunity for all Canadians and whether further structural safeguards should be implemented to ensure that universal accessibility based on ability becomes a reality;

c) that the federal government undertake a detailed appraisal and evaluation of its entire system of support to post-secondary institutions, and that educators and students be involved in this appraisal. The mechanism for such an appraisal exists in the Education Support Branch of the Department of the Secretary of State, which has already compiled the first comprehensive set of statistics on federal spending on education. These statistics however must be complemented by a comprehensive and critical evaluation of the way in which federal monies are spent. And in keeping with the previous comment regarding educational access being a national right of citizenship, the Citizenship Branch, pursuant to its duties in preparing the studies under (b), should co-operate and join with the Education Support Branch in conducting these further studies.

Canada Student Loans Plan

Department Involved:
Finance

Introduction

Besides making contributions towards the operating costs of post-secondary institutions, the federal government, through the Canada Student Loans Plan, also makes funds available to students in order for them to

attend these institutions. The Plan was established by the Canada Student Loans Act, July 1964.

The federal share of operating costs is non-repayable and is provided with no conditions attached. Loans to students, on the other hand, are fully repayable, and have many strings attached. These loans, moreover, come not from the federal treasury, but from banks and other lending institutions. The federal government is responsible only for guaranteeing the loans, for a percentage of the total interest payable on them, and for the cost of administering the Student Loan Plan (each province is paid $3.25 per certificate for administrative costs).

No other federal programme has a more direct bearing on Canadian youth. In 1967-68, 41% of all students in Canadian post-secondary institutions made use of this Plan.[11] But despite this apparent success, the scheme contains a number of serious flaws, and is therefore singled out for a detailed examination.

Purpose of the Programme

No constitutional barriers prevent the federal government from providing direct aid to students. It was in this area that Ottawa first became involved in the financing of post-secondary education 30 years ago. The Canada Student Loans Plan replaced a federal-provincial shared-cost programme of loans and grants dating back to 1939.

As outlined by the Department of Finance, the purpose of the Plan is "to make bank loans available to students who need financial help to enable them to engage in full-time studies directed towards a degree or a diploma at universities or certain other educational institutions above the high school level."[12] As the Department makes clear, the Plan is based on the principle that parents and/or student remain primarily responsible for the students' portion of the costs of post-secondary education. "It was set up to supplement family and other financial sources available to students, not to replace them."[13]

How the Programme Works

Under the Plan, loans are available to a maximum of $1,000 per student per year, for a total of $5,000 per student. Since the programme began, approximately $385.1 million has been loaned to approximately 627,000 students. In the loan year 1969-70 (July 1-June 30), $71.7 million was loaned to 109,000 students.

For 1970-71, the basic loan provision, i.e., the amount which the federal government is prepared to guarantee, is $115 million.[14] In subsequent years, the provision will be based on the relationship between the estimated number of persons who will be enrolled in post-secondary institutions in that year, and those who were enrolled in the loan year beginning July 1, 1970.

11. Pike, Robert M. *Who Doesn't Get to University - and Why.* A Study on Accessibility to Higher Education in Canada. Ottawa: Runge Press, 1970. p. 162.
12. *Canada Student Loans Plan.* Pamphlet published by authority of the Minister of Finance. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1969.
13. *Ibid.*
14. *House of Commons Debates.* vol. 114, nos. 14, 12, November 1969.

The actual cash is provided by banks, trust companies, and credit unions. The federal government guarantees the loan and pays the interest on it until six months after the student has completed his studies. At that time, the ex-student is expected to begin repaying the loan together with the ensuing interest. Repayment is expected to be completed within 10 years of graduation and details of repayment are worked out betwen the individual student and the particular lending institution.

Until June 1968, ex-students paid a fixed interest rate of 5¾%, whereas the federal government paid a fixed interest rate of 5½%. After that, flexible rates were introduced, and the rates for any year are now determined by January-to-July yield on Government of Canada Bonds plus an increment to cover administrative costs. In 1968-69, the interest rate for students was 8⅛%.[15]

For all the complexity of the programme, its actual cost to the federal treasury is small. In 1967-68, for example, the administrative costs came to $250,000, interest payments amounted to $6 million,[16] and the entire programme accounted for no more than .05% of the total federal budget.[17] It is estimated that 93% of ex-students who have benefited from the Plan are meeting their obligations on a regular basis, 3.5% face repayment problems due to illness or lack of steady employment, and 3.5% are trying to avoid their responsibilities.[18]

Since the programme started, only about $600,000 has been written off: $100,000 by death; $500,000 by default.[19] Considering the total amount loaned to date and the number of students involved, this does not seem an unusual loss rate.

How the Provinces Relate to the Plan

Each province, under the Act, is alloted a percentage of the total expenditure. This amount is determined by the estimated number of people between 18 and 24 in each province, as against the total number of people in that age group in Canada. In order to overcome regional disparities, the Act was amended in 1969 to make supplementary allocations - up to a maximum of 30% of the basic allocation - available to provinces which need them.

Generally speaking, the onus is on the provinces to supplement the federal Plan with non-repayable aid. Five provinces (Ontario, Newfoundland, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Alberta) have combined the federal programme with their provincial programmes to create a loan-grant formula. Provinces which keep their own aid scheme separate from the federal scheme provide non-repayable aid through scholarships and bursaries. One province - Quebec - does not subscribe to the Loan Plan at all, but operates its own scheme and receives in compensation a federal grant roughly equivalent to its share of the federal interest payments and administrative costs.

Who is Eligible

There is no age limit, but in order to qualify for a loan a student must:
— be a Canadian citizen, or a landed immigrant who has been resident in Canada for at least a year;
—be resident in a province which participates in the Plan, although it is not necessary for him to study in that province;
— be enrolled or qualified to enroll in a course of study at a post-secondary level institution as a full-time student; (under the Amendment of 1969, full-time is defined as enrolment for not less than one semester of not less than 26 weeks duration);
— meet a prescribed scholastic standard.

The above criteria constitute the full extent of common agreement. The provinces, through their provincial schemes, can impose additional criteria, including elaborations on the definition of "dependent" and "independent". If a student meets these requirements, he may apply for a Certificate of Eligibility from his province. The onus is on him to prove that he actually needs the loan.

How Need is Defined

The Canada Student Loans Act contains no definition of need. Instead, a basic set of criteria - a means test - which determines how much each student may receive, has been worked out by the Federal-Provincial Committee on the Canada Student Loans Plan. In simplest terms, the sum is arrived at by totalling the student's financial expenses, and substracting his resources.

Since the Act is based on the principle that parents are primarily responsible for paying for their children's post-secondary education, an arbitrary distinction is made between students considered to be dependent on their parents,

15. Cook, Gail, and David Stager. *Student Financial Assistance Programmes.* Institute for the Quantitative Analysis of Social and Economic Policy. University of Toronto, 1969. p. 61.
16. Department of the Secretary of State, Education Support Branch. *Federal Expenditures on Post-Secondary Education, 1967-68.* Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1969. p. 8.
17. Clark, E., D. Cook, G. Fallis, and M. Kent. *Student Aid and Access to Higher Education in Ontario.* Department of University Affairs, Toronto, 1969.
18. *Hansard,* vol. 114, no. 15, Mr. Herb Gray, November 13, 1969.
19. *Ibid.*

and those considered independent. Independent students are those who are married, have worked at least 12 consecutive months and are at least 21 years of age or have completed successfully 4 years of post-secondary study.

All others are considered dependent. A proportion of the parent's income, derived by a complex formula, is included as part of the student's resources, regardless of whether or not parents actually make this contribution.

For both independent and dependent students, a proportion of summer earnings is also listed as a resource. Some provinces have a fixed amount which is expected to have been saved from the student's summer earnings; others expect the student himself to report what he has saved.

Other resources include bursaries and fellowships which the student has received, as well as his personal assets of readily-recognizable value, including his car. For married students, resources also include spouses' income and remuneration for teaching assistantships, contribution from parents, etc., after deducting a pre-determined annual allowance for basic family maintenance costs.

The list of allowable expenses is virtually identical for both dependants and independents for the following items:
— tuition fees;
— books and instruments;
— clothing, laundering, etc. ($9.50 a week for all students).

Board and lodging for dependent students covers the actual cost for those in residence, the amount established by the province for those living away from home and $13.00 a week for students living at home. For independent students, boarding and lodging allowance covers the actual cost of university residence or the amount established by the province.

Both groups receive transportation costs to cover commuter expenses and, for students who have substantiated the need of a car, an amount not exceeding the commuter allowance. Dependent students living away from home are allowed one return trip a year to their permanent home.

Effectiveness of the Programme

Several recent studies have looked at the Loan Plan as it relates to other student aid programmes,[20] but the federal government itself has made no in-depth examination of its effectiveness. Although the Post-Secondary Student Population Survey compiled jointly by the Department of the Secretary of State (Education Support Branch) and DBS provides some useful information about the socio-economic status of post-secondary students, little analysis has been done on these figures.

The Committee's research into the programme, however, has provided a base from which to make a number of important criticisms. If these do not quite bear out Réal Caouette's assertion that the present scheme "is as effective as a band-aid on a wooden leg",[21] they do indicate that Mr. Caouette's basic point is not far off the mark.

The first area of criticism concerns the underlying assumptions on which the Plan is based. These assumptions are out of date. The Plan is based on the premise that while the state bears the responsibility for all the costs of primary and secondary education, and parents bear only a maintenance responsibility, the onus is on the parents to pay tuition costs of post-secondary education. These costs, as a result of massive federal and provincial subsidization, are now just low enough to be no real burden to the middle income groups and just high enough to operate as deterrent fees to the socially and economically disadvantaged. The Canadian state, if its rhetoric on the subject is any indication, has declared that higher education and an educationally mobile populace is a mandatory principle.

The assumptions underlying the Plan become all the more incongruous when one considers that, at the primary and secondary levels of education, the state is helping parents meet even their maintenance responsibility by means of family allowances. In fact, the Youth Allowances scheme[22] available to parents who have dependants between the ages of 16 and 18, is specifically designed to encourage young people to stay in school. Strange logic then, to find that when the post-secondary level is reached, the state suddenly does an about-face and expects parents to pay for both tuition and maintenance.

The assumption is as hard on the student as on the parent. Unless he can qualify as an "independent" according to the arbitrary requirements stated previously, he is automatically considered less than an adult, and not responsible for his own decisions and actions. At the same time, members of his own age group who are not continuing their education are assumed by the state to be adults.

Secondly, the fact that the programme assumes parental contribution to post-secondary education costs does

20. The most important of these are:
Cook and Stager, *Student Financial Assistance Programmes. op. cit.;*
Clark, Cook, Fallis and Kent. *Student Aid and Access to Higher Education in Ontario. op. cit.;*
Pike, Robert M., *Who Doesn't Get to University - and Why.*

21. *Hansard.* vol. 114, no. 14, 2nd Session, 28 Parliament.
Mr. Réal Caouette, November 12, 1969.

22. This programme is examined in detail later in this section.

little to equalize educational opportunity. In fact, it has almost the reverse effect.

In many cases, parents were quite simply unable to contribute the expected proportion of their income. One recent study has pointed out: "There were resounding arguments that students from families having an income of $6,000 to $10,000 in many cases received less (in the way of loans) than they required because their parents were unable to make the contribution that was assumed in the assessment tables."[23] These assessments are often quite unrealistic. For example, a family which has a gross income of $8,500 and two children at post-secondary institutions is required to contribute $1,366, or 16% of its gross income towards tuition and residence fees.

On the other hand, parents may refuse to contribute the required amount, thus leaving the student financially unsupported. His only alternative then may be to drop out, work for a year, and so qualify for independent status.

The parental contribution requirement also works directly to the advantage of the middle class, since parental willingness to pay is closely related to their own education level. One American study has noted that: "The annual contribution of the parents will increase by $2.90 for every $100 increase in the family income. The amount of the contribution that the family will make also increases with the level of education attained by the parents - from plus $95 if the highest level of education is primary, to plus $855 if one of the parents went beyond a bachelor's degree."[24]

Even when parents are ready and willing to make the required contribution, the requirement restricts freedom of choice. Parents, by virtue of this contribution, may force their children into particular courses, programmes or schools. The length of time for which the contribution is required may also lead parents to persuade students to take the quickest and cheapest path to a degree or diploma.

The parental contribution requirement constitutes a particular problem for female students. The difficulty here is obvious. Parents may refuse to "waste" money on a girl's education, reasoning that she may marry and thus not "use" her education.

Certainly, the fact that student loans account for only about 25% of student income is an indication that so far, they have not made a significant difference in increasing equality of opportunity.[25]

A third major criticism concerns the assumption that students will be able to save for their education by working in the summer. Summer employment is becoming increasingly an anachronism. At least as a stop-gap measure, the summer savings requirement should be eliminated if:
— the student unsuccessfully sought summer work;
— the payment or the duration of the job did not allow for savings;
— the student found a meaningful alternative to gainful summer employment.

The following criticisms concern the specifics of the Loan Plan. The amounts of the loans are unrealistic. As noted, each student is allowed a maximum of $1,000 per year for a total of $5,000 per student. These amounts were established in June 1964, when the cost of living index was 105.4. By June 1970 it had risen to 130.5, thereby decreasing the real value of the money each student receives. Since tuition fees alone account for an average of $500 per student, he is left with no more than $500 to cover living expenses for the year. Although $1,000 is the maximum amount allotted, many students receive much less.

Moreover, the $5,000 total over the years means that many students are discouraged from entering into long undergraduate courses, or from entering graduate school at all.[26] Married students are at a disadvantage in this regard.

It can be argued that the federal loans are intended to be supplemented by provincial grants which reflect increased living costs. But this is far from common practice. In Saskatchewan, for example, the Plan is supplemented by scholarships the total value of which amounts to no more than $500 per student.[27] It is evident that the poorer provinces, where the need for supplemental assistance is greater, are plainly those least able to provide it.

The recent rise in the interest rate on loans constitutes a corollary to this basic problem. The student is not only receiving less in real value than his predecessors, he is paying back more under the same programme.

And, as a final indication of the inadequacy of the loans, a 1968 survey on educational spending prepared by the Education Support Branch of the Department of the Secretary of State indicated that over half (56.62%) of the loans received by students were obtained from non-government sources, i.e., family, educational institutions, banks. Since most students would obviously prefer to obtain

23. Cook and Stager, *op. cit.*, p. 76.
24. Lansing, John E., T. Lorimer, and C. Moriguchi. *How People Pay for College*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: Survey Research Centre, 1970.
25. *Post-Secondary Student Income and Expenditures in Canada 1968-69*. Education Support Branch, Secretary of State.
26. Porter, John. "Inequalities in Education." *Canadian Counsellor*, vol. 2, no. 3, 1968, pp. 136-147.
27. *University Affairs*. Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada. vol. 10, 1969.

the loans interest-free through the Loan Plan, one can only conclude that the programme is not coming anywhere close to filling the needs for which it was designed.

The Plan is unwieldy. In all provinces except Ontario where, as a result of student pressure, students apply for loans through registrars of their post-secondary institutions, certificates of eligibility must be presented to banks. As an increasing number of students receive loans, the provincial machinery is becoming increasingly cumbersome from the students' point of view. So also is the process by which loans are repaid.

The criteria are not uniformly applied, particularly in the matter of residence requirements. Many students who move from one province to another may be denied loans because their home province and their new province each refuse them resident status. This is entirely inconsistent with the federal government's responsibility to assure educational transferability as stated above. There is some attempt to ameliorate this condition with Canada Student Loans, but this has other disabilities with regard to grants in certain provinces.

The Plan does not include part-time students. The problem here is obvious; part-time students are frequently the best motivated of all students, and the fact that loans are not available to them is discriminatory.

The Contingency Repayment Scheme

In recent years, the federal loans programme has been the subject of increasing debate. One direct result has been a new proposal brought forward early in 1970 by the Council of Ministers of Education to eliminate the existing scheme entirely and put federal spending on student aid on a completely new basis.[28]

This proposal, which was designed to solve the problem of rising operating costs of universities and colleges, and at the same time to make extra financial resources available to students, rests on the assumption that the individual should be primarily responsible for the costs of post-secondary education. It is based on the premise that student aid should be treated as an investment, not as a subsidy. In theory, this would introduce market realities to the educational system and force students and parents to evaluate realistically education as a consumption good. It also offers the attractive panacea of shifting a large burden of the costs from the general revenues of all governments to a reliance upon the monetary policies of the federal government.

In developing their plan, the ministers drew heavily on the concept of the U.S. Educational Opportunity Bank and on the arguments and recommendations outlined in *Student Financial Assistance Programmes* in Ontario.[29] Much of the background work was undertaken by the Education Support Branch of the Department of the Secretary of State. Significantly, the findings of the Clark, Cook, Fallis and Kent report[30] which generally favoured a salary approach to student aid, were all but ignored.

It is important to note also that the proposed scheme deals only with the question of financial resources; it does not in any way take into account the broader question of access to higher education.

Operation of Proposed Scheme

The programme would be a national one, applicable equally to all Canadian post-secondary students. Emphasis would be placed upon monetary policy regarding loan services. Operation of the scheme would be funded out of general taxation revenues, and the provinces would be relieved of the onus for supplementing the federal plan with non-repayable aid.

Loans to students would be much larger than under the present scheme; ultimately they are expected to cover the "true cost", that is, all the costs of education. Students would be responsible for paying back the total amount of the loan plus the total cumulative interest which would be determined on the basis of prevailing rates.

Annual repayment would begin with the first year of income. It would be based on a percentage of declared income, and paid through tax returns. The percentage might be increased or decreased, as might the length of time require to pay off the loan. The proposal allows for payments over a period of 15 years. After that time, the balance would be written off as a grant. At any time, individuals would be free to buy their way out of the scheme.

Cost of Proposed Scheme

There are various estimates concerning the initial cost of the scheme, based on different proposals. In succeeding years, the annual net cost to the government would be the difference between the amount paid by the government to lenders, and the repayment received from borrowers. The degree of government resources freed would depend on the extent and speed with which "true cost" was shifted to students.

28. There are some variations in possible implementation of a contingency repayment scheme. We have used the proposal presented to the Council of Ministers of Education as the basis for our argument.

29. Cook and Stager, *op. cit.*
30. *op cit.*

Eligibility Requirements

Residence requirements would be more flexible and the scheme would allow greater mobility for students. Part-time students would be eligible, and a means test would continue to be applied. Like the Student Loans Plan, this new plan would assume parental contributions.

Effectiveness of Proposed Scheme

Although all the technical and administrative details of the new plan have not yet been worked out, it is expected that the new scheme would be more flexible and more efficient than the existing one. The thinking behind it, however, still adheres to traditional concepts.

The major concern, however, is that the new plan would work to the advantage of those in the upper-income groups and would not in the least overcome present inequalities in educational opportunity. That the plan would continue to assume parental contributions is clear evidence of this perpetuation.

The provincial education ministers favour the proposal because it allows provincial governments to raise tuition fees and thus shift a greater part of the cost of education onto the individual. This means that more people will have to borrow, and they will have to borrow more. This works to the disadvantage of poorer students, since it means that they will be forced to choose the quickest and cheapest path to a degree. On the one hand, graduate work could become the preserve of the wealthy; on the other, students might choose to stay in graduate schools as long as possible in order to avoid repayment.

Affluent students after graduation can buy their way out by paying off their loan and interest sooner than those with lower incomes who must pay over a 15 year period. It is obvious also that 3% of a $6,000 income is a more significant repayment than, for example, 3% of $30,000. The "buying-out" option also means that the programme cannot be self-supporting. If taxation were progressive, and allowed no buying out (as is the case in the proposal for the U.S. Educational Opportunity Bank), the programme could support itself.

Women, under this proposal, are even more discriminated against than under the present Plan. If they marry and do not earn an income, they will be unable to make repayment personally. One way to solve this, Cook and Stager suggest, is to insist that the woman commit a percentage of family income for repayment. This would mean that a woman would have a negative dowry.

There is also a political difficulty: the problem of emigrants would become inordinately complex since Canada would have to undertake international agreements to ensure repayment from people leaving the country.

Finally, there is considerable doubt that any student loan scheme, however carefully devised and well-intentioned, would in fact make post-secondary education equally available to all. To the contrary, there is evidence that such borrowing programmes often act as a considerable deterrent to this goal. One study found that at the Grade 12 level, fewer students would be prepared to continue their education under a loan plan than if no assistance plan were available.[31] The team concluded that students in Grade 12 cannot accept the economic rationale of determining their expected income after graduation and then borrowing against it. Thus they argue that only a salary plan can effectively equalize educational opportunity.

A national study confirms this finding.[32] As it points out, willingness to undertake responsibility for payment depends to a great extent on future employment prospects. It is obvious that this works to the disadvantage of students from lower-income families who find it hard to envisage a satisfactory employment future.

The Larger Question

Apart from the disadvantages inherent in all student loan programmes - present and proposed - there is a deeper more philosophic issue at stake. Is post-secondary education a right, in the same way that primary and secondary education are rights, or is it a privilege to be paid for by the person who benefits from it?

While this argument impinges on the question of parental responsibility, its implications are much broader. In 1951, the Massey Commissioners declared that "democratic principles demand that, as far as possible, equal opportunity be given to all our young people." More recently, as a proliferating number of studies demonstrate, rising education costs and increasing student enrolments have brought the issue sharply to the fore.

Cook and Stager, for example, reached the conclusion that although both society and the individual benefit from higher education, the benefits to the individual are greater than those to society, and therefore the individual should pay the greater proportion of its cost.

The Economic Council of Canada, on the other hand, in its most recent report,[33] comes down strongly in favour of education's benefit to society as a whole. "The improvement in the educational quality of human capital appears to have been very large in the twentieth century in

31. Clark, Cook, Fallis and Kent, *op. cit.*
32. Pike. *Who Doesn't Get to University — and Why, op. cit.*
33. Economic Council of Canada. Seventh Annual Review. *Patterns of Growth.* Ottawa, September 1970.

many countries, and various studies in recent years suggest that education is one of the most important factors contributing to economic growth."[34]

The Carter Commission on Taxation, which reported in 1966, took much the same point of view. On the grounds of the economic benefit which would follow, it advocated the enrolment of a higher proportion of the population in post-secondary education and recommended that payment be made positively, by way of tax credit rather than by deduction.

In the long run, Canadian society will have to decide which argument carries the most weight. It is a decision of far-reaching social, political, and financial consequences. The choice is whether the Canadian government can afford to bear the full costs of higher education, or whether Canadians and Canada can afford not to do so.

For an enlightened society and an enlightened government, the second option is the only possible alternative. The consistent trend of this century has been the reduction of private contributions to all levels of education. Although this development has occurred later in relation to post-secondary education, it has reached the point today that, in Ontario alone, the private contributions which individuals make through tuition fees account for only 19% of total university income.

At the same time that governments are spending so much, most reliable studies indicate that all the qualified members of lower-income groups have not been able to take advantage of what are, to all intents and purposes, public institutions.

The solution to this paradoxical, discriminatory situation lies in the acceleration of the present trend in the full subsidization of all post-secondary institutions - thereby ensuring that education at that level is cost-free. Beyond this, special schemes must be developed to encourage and ensure the entrance of all qualified Canadians into these institutions.

2 Canada Student Loans Plan

Recommendation 2

Thus, for the short-term, it is recommended:

a) that the federal government undertake a thorough evaluation of its student aid programme and search for an alternative which will go beyond the existing plan *or* the proposed Contingency Repayment scheme in overcoming regional disparities and equalizing educational opportunities; such an appraisal should include a study of the existing programme of aid to the dependants of deceased or disabled veterans:

b) that the Canada Student Loans Plan be revised immediately so as:
i) to remove, or to reassess the requirements for parental contributions;
ii) to remove or to reassess the requirements for savings from summer employment;
iii) to increase substantially the amounts of individual loans, in terms of the maximum available per year, and the maximum available per student;
iv) to simplify the existing administrative process particularly in terms of residency requirements, arrangements for obtaining loans and repayment, and the introduction of a greater flexibility at the local student level;
v) to be made available to part-time students.

34. Bertram, *op. cit.*

Departments Involved:
approximately 40 departments and agencies

Purposes

The third main focus of the federal government's programme of support of post-secondary education is aid to research. Ottawa pays for two-thirds of the cost of sponsored, assisted and contracted research in Canadian universities.[35] The federal government is involved because of "its desire to maintain strong, first-rate educational institutions that can provide government, industry and universities themselves with the highly-trained manpower necessary for the achievement of Canadian goals."[36]

How the Programme Works

Total federal spending on university research amounts to approximately $120 million a year, three-quarters of which is channelled through three federal councils: the Canada Council; the Medical Research Council; and the National Research Council. The balance is provided by other departments and agencies.[37]

Funds are allotted through capital grants, operating grants, awards and fellowships (those above the doctoral level are considered as research allocations), research grants, and research contracts. Science, engineering, and medicine account for the bulk of the money - 84% in 1967-68.[38]

Effectiveness of the Programme

Unlike most of the other federal programmes examined, the federal government's involvement in university research does not suffer from lack of study. To the contrary, the last two years have seen the publication of no

less than four major reports on research policy,[39] and a fifth is expected in the near future.[40] As a consequence, this area has not been investigated in detail by the Committee.

Nevertheless, research is important to youth. For one thing, the amount and type of research which a university undertakes profoundly affects the nature of that university. And the time devoted to research instead of teaching directly affects the student body. One of the above-mentioned studies, for example, notes that "the average faculty member spends about 20 per cent of his time on direct research, and about 30 per cent of his time on research plus supervision of graduate theses."[41] At the same time, the research capacity of a university is closely connected to the position of graduate students within it. There is also a direct

35. Macdonald, John B., L. P. Dugal, J. S. Dupré, J. B. Marshall, J. Gordon Parr, Ernest Surluck, E. Voight. *The Role of the Federal Government in Support of Research in Canadian Universities.* (*Macdonald Report.*) Prepared for the Science Council of Canada and the Canada Council. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1969. Tables 3:1 and 3:9.

36. *University Research and the Federal Government.* Science Council of Canada. Report No. 5. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1969. p. 4.

37. *Federal Expenditures on Research in the Academic Community, 1966-67 and 1967-68.* Department of the Secretary of State. Education Support Branch. Report No. 1. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1969.

38. *Macdonald Report. op. cit.* p. 9.

39. *Macdonald Report. op. cit.*
University Research and the Federal Government. op. cit.
Federal Expenditures on Research in the Academic Community. op. cit. Hurtubise, R. and D. Rowat. *The University, Society and Government.* Report of the Commission on the Relations between Universities and Government. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1970.

40. Report of the Senate Committee on Science Policy (Lamontagne Committee). *A Science Policy for Canadians.* Vol. 1, Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1970.

41. Hurtubise and Rowat, *op. cit.* p. 169.

relationship between research and employment opportunities. For these reasons, while no firm recommendations can be made regarding federal research policies, a few general points should be considered.

Present research policies stress the pure sciences to the disadvantage of the social sciences and humanities. As stated previously, in 1967-68, science, engineering and medicine accounted for over 84% of the total federal expenditure on research. Some disciplines - notably business administration, law, architecture, nursing, music, art and theatre - receive almost no federal support. As one report makes clear "this is not because they are judged to be of lesser importance, but because they do not fall within the terms of reference of any of the funding agencies."[42] The situation is most serious in the field of education, which "is in a category by itself and deserves special mention. This field has been poorly funded by federal agencies."[43]

Disparity among disciplines is compounded by disparity among universities. As the *Macdonald Report* notes: 5 universities received 50% of the total federal funds; 10 universities received 82%; 33 universities received less than $1 million; 21 received less than $100,000; while 15 - one third of all universities in Canada - received no federal research money at all.[44]

Research support is more often given to established scholars than to the young and untried. Complaints about this bias have been documented.[45] The trouble seems to be that committees responsible for dispensing funds are generally comprised of older, nationally-known scholars who favour researchers with established reputations.

As the proliferating number of studies demonstrate, the federal government is currently in the midst of analyzing and evaluating its present research policies. It is hoped that this evaluation will result in a revised policy which will:

—overcome the lack of co-ordination in present research programmes which results in the disparities and gaps previously noted;

—include a better system of information distribution about monies available for research purposes;

—compile a comprehensive list of all available scholarships and fellowships for wide distribution in universities and colleges;

—stress the importance of, and work towards the development of programmes of Canadian studies in Canadian universities.

42. *Macdonald Report. op. cit.* p. 8.
43. *Ibid.* p. 8.
44. *Ibid.* p. 46.
45. Hurtubise and Rowat, *op. cit.* p. 175-6ff.

Military Education Programmes

Department Involved:
National Defence

Purpose

The federal government's involvement in educational activities usually occurs at a discreet distance, with Ottawa either providing financial support to provincial programmes or aiding individual students. There is one area, however, in which the federal government is directly and actively involved - that of educating personnel for the Canadian Armed Forces.

As in most other countries, such education has traditionally been the preserve of the military establishments. Again as in most other countries, it has followed traditional patterns of military education, designed to instil the discipline necessary for the armed services.

How the Programme Works

At least seven roads lead to a commission in the armed forces. The most important of these is the Regular Officer Training Plan (ROTP).

Through this programme, potential officers receive university education and military training at public expense. In theory, they may be educated at any civilian university or college in Canada, or at one of three Canadian military colleges: Royal Military College (RMC - Kingston, Ontario); Royal Roads (Esquimalt, B.C.); and *Collège Militaire Royal* (CMR - St. Jean, Quebec). In practice, the service colleges' overhead is distributed as broadly as possible by keeping them at capacity; hence the balance of those enrolled under the ROTP schemes go to civilian universities. In 1970-71, 1,178[46] cadets were enrolled in the three colleges.

All entrants must be single males between the ages of 16 and 21, Canadian citizens or British subjects with landed immigrant status. Applicants may indicate whether or not they wish to attend a military college or a civilian university, although the final decision is made by the Department of National Defence (DND). The Minister of Defence himself is president of the three military colleges; the college Commandants are responsible to the Commandant, Defence Education Establishment, who is responsible to the Chief of Personnel who is responsible to the Chief of Defence Staff.[47]

46. Department of National Defence.
47. *Ibid.*

Of the three military colleges, only RMC now has degree-granting privileges, although such privileges will shortly be extended to CMR. Cadets who begin their courses at Royal Roads or at CMR must spend their last two years at RMC. RMC and Royal Roads cadets study for four years; those at CMR for five. Most French-speaking entrants are sent to CMR, those from the West and the Maritimes to Royal Roads, while the complement at RMC is principally made up from Ontario.

During the school year, the bulk of military colleges' curriculum is academic, though it includes military subjects as well as a compulsory programme of physical education and drill. Cadets at civilian universities follow normal academic education. During the summer, all officer cadets must take practical military training at summer camps or with regular units of the Armed Forces.

For all but a few reserve entry cadets, DND pays the full cost of tuition, uniforms, books and instruments, and provides free medical and dental care. In addition, each officer cadet is paid $193 a month during his first three years and $198 during his last year - or last two years as the case may be. For students in military colleges, this salary amounts to $80.45 after room and board has been deducted. University cadets receive $166.45, out of which they are expected to pay their room and board. All cadets are allowed 30 days annual leave with full pay.

First-year cadets may apply for release anytime between November 15 and the beginning of the next academic year. (By Christmas 1969, 72 out of 488 had left the colleges.)[48] After the initial period, cadets who ask for release are expected to reimburse the Crown for all expenses of training and education. Release from the plan is compulsory if the cadet fails - either academically or in his military training. In 1968-69, just over 50%, or 340 of the 667 enrolled[49] had left the colleges.

On graduation, all cadets are required to accept a permanent commission in the Armed Forces and serve for at least four years. ROTP graduates whether or not they become permanent career officers, remain available to the forces during national emergencies. The retention rate, four years after graduation, has been 64% of military college graduates since 1952.

In 1968-69, the total budget for the ROTP was $13.7 million of which $12.3 million was spent by the military colleges and $1.4 million by expenses in civilian universities.[50] The annual cost per student at each of the military colleges for 1969-70 is: RMC - $9,369; RRMC - $11,170; CMR - $8,479.[51]

48. *Hansard.* February 23, 1970.
49. *Hansard.* February 23, 1970.

Other Plans

Briefly, the other methods of entering the Armed Forces as an officer are as follows:

Reserve Entry Training Plan:
students at military colleges pay all the costs of their education: on graduation, they are required only to serve for three years in the primary reserves;

Medical Officer Training Plan:
medical undergraduates are fully subsidized for the last 45 months; on graduation they must serve for three years;

Dental Officer Training Plan:
dental students are subsidized for the last 45 months; on graduation they must serve for five years;

Reserve Officer University Training Plan:
university students enroll for up to 16 weeks of summer training, and become eligible for the active reserve; apart from their remuneration, there are no other benefits, and there is no obligatory period of service after graduation;

Direct Entry Plan:
162 university graduates (male and female) were enrolled for officer training in 1968-69; there is no specified period of obligatory service, as their education has in no way been subsidized;

Officer Candidate Training Plan:
other civilians, as well as promising recruits from the ranks, receive officer training.

Effectiveness of these Plans

In Canada, as in many other countries, the military no longer enjoys the prestige it once had. Some young Canadians are still attracted to a military career; of 750 places available in the Regular Officer Training Plan in 1969-70, 552 were filled. Between 1966 and 1968, more than 50% of the participants left, before graduation, for various reasons.[52]

50. O'Brien, Tom. *A Study of Programmes Relevant to Youth of the Federal Departments and Agencies.* Secretary of State, Ottawa, 1970.
51. These figures include: (a) military and civilian personnel costs of: (i) instructional staff, (ii) administrative staff, (iii) maintenance staff, and (iv) corps of commissionaires; (b) staff travel and transportation; (c) freight and express; (d) repair and up-keep of buidings; (e) municipal and public utilities; (f) fuel for heating and cooking; (g) office stationery, supplies and equipment; (h) miscellaneous. (Costs not included are the personal costs of cadets, capital costs and depreciation.)
52. *Hansard.* February 23, 1970.

For the Armed Forces, such attrition rates have created almost a crisis situation. In order to deal with it, the Department of National Defence recently established an Officer Development Board to review the situation and to make recommendations.

In its report, the Board attempted to come to grips with the problem of arousing the interest of young men in attending military colleges. Specifically, it recommended a revised curriculum with more emphasis on non-military subjects, and the centralization of the military colleges in Ottawa. In the last analysis, however, the report came down strongly in favour of maintaining the military college system. It suggested that ideally, 50% of all officers should be educated and trained at the military colleges.

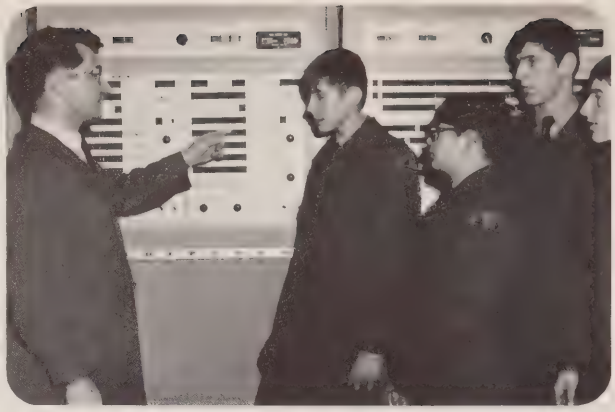
Underlying Rationale

The Board based its conclusion on philosophical and practical grounds. On philosophical grounds, they felt that the classic university approach to education with its freedom of choice and freedom from outside pressure, is unrealistic in terms of military training. The nature of national defence demands a curriculum in which each student takes a minimum number of mandatory military subjects. Civilian universities quite simply cannot provide such courses.

According to the Board, only military colleges can provide leadership training - particularly in those aspects of leadership which guarantee national security, preserve military traditions, and engender pride and confidence in the officer corps. In another light, at civilian universities, the attrition rate for ROTP cadets is much higher than at military colleges. On practical grounds, the Defence officials make the case that the military is a profession like any other. Its managers must be trained in military thought and practice in the same way that other professionals are trained in the techniques of their professions. Potential lawyers attend law school; potential doctors go to medical school; and therefore potential officers should go to military school.

The Committee questions the validity of this rationale as it applies to modern Canada. However, the programme can be assessed in practical terms.

Out of 750 places available in 1969-70, only 552 were filled. It is also striking that during 1968-69, when more cadets were permitted to study at civilian universities, enrolment rose considerably (to 667).[53] To some extent, this decline in actual enrolments in military colleges (although there are numerous applications) reflects the general cut-backs in the Armed Forces, and the general revision of Canada's defence position currently under way. Nevertheless, one third of military graduates who complete their programme and then leave constitute a considerable expenditure on persons who make this decision.



The cost of educating cadets in military colleges is many times the cost per student at civilian universities. It is not possible for us to compare capital costs, but the Committee suggests that the federal government should do so. Physical appearances of the military colleges would indicate that capital cost per student far exceeds the generally high Canadian standards (for example, in Ontario approximately $12,000 per engineering student and $8,000 per arts and science student.)

Some rough comparison of operating costs is possible and here on the other hand the wide discrepancy is demonstrably apparent. It was noted that the annual operating cost per student at the military colleges ranges from $8,479 to $11,170. These figures do not include monthly stipends and other perquisites to cadets. Using again one of the country's highest civilian figures, the Ontario formula provides its academic institutions a Basic Income Unit of $1,556 per year for an arts and science student. The Committee realizes that in addition to the academic education, the cadets receive military training. The latter adds a factor of professionalism which must be considered for purposes of comparison. We suggest an appropriate measure would be the Basic Income Unit allotted by Ontario of $3,112 for an engineering student. If this comparison is acceptable then operating costs in military colleges may be out of line by as much as three to four times. Nevertheless, all evidence indicates that the number of qualified Canadian students attracted to military colleges does not justify the massive sums spent on these colleges.

53. *Ibid.*

3 Military Education Programmes

Recommendation 3

Canada's Armed Forces need well-trained and well-educated officers; it is the responsibility of the federal government to train such officers.

However, the principal methods by which officers were recruited and trained in the past no longer work adequately. Given the extensive expenditures on military colleges, and the desirability for military personnel to be more closely integrated into society as a whole, it is recommended:

a) that emphasis should be placed upon the Direct Entry Plan for both recruitment and training;

b) that emphasis be placed on the encouragement of officer candidates from the ranks through the Officer Candidate Training Plan;

c) that the federal government drastically revise and restructure its method of training and recruiting officers for the Canadian Armed Forces, and that specific consideration be given to alternative methods of adding the "professional military training" to the academic backgrounds of all members of the Armed Forces;

d) that the Defence Department give further consideration to the economic advantages of turning the three military colleges over to civilian control and/or amalgamating their functions within one institution while using alternative schemes to subsidize or purchase cadets' education in civilian institutions and provide that portion of their education which is military in an alternative fashion or in the resulting one military institution.

Youth Allowances

Department Involved:
National Health and Welfare

Purpose of the Programme

Under the Youth Allowances Act of 1964, the federal government had undertaken to encourage young people to continue their education by extending Family Allowance benefits to parents who have children between 16 and 18 still in school.

How the Programme Works

Ten dollars per month is available for every youth between the ages of 16 and 18 who is either attending school or university, or is precluded from doing so by a physical or mental infirmity. In 1968-69, $52,457,272 was paid in benefits under the programme; administration of the scheme cost $1,184,668.[54]

In 1969, there were 570,300 Canadians aged 16 and 17, of whom 479,903 benefited from the programme. (Quebec does not subscribe to the programme but operates a parallel scheme and receives compensation from the federal government through a 3% abatement of personal income tax.)

Payment is made directly to parents by regional offices of the Department of National Health and Welfare. The Family Allowance and Old Age Security Division of the Department supervises the programme.

Effectiveness of the Programme

Numbers alone would seem to indicate that the Youth Allowance scheme is fairly effective. Yet, at the time of our analysis, the federal government has undertaken no evaluation of the programme. Since there are no statistics to indicate which socio-economic groups benefit most from the programme, there is no way of determining if the government is subsidizing primarily those who would have stayed in school anyway.

In terms of encouraging students to stay in school, the amount of the allowance is unrealistic. It is unlikely that, by itself, $10 a month would encourage anyone to stay in school. Clearly this amount is not sufficient to cover the basic necessities of life - even for a student living at home.

54. O'Brien Report, *op. cit.*

Parents and youth are informed about the existence of the Youth Allowance only when the student has reached the age of 16. In other words, he may reach 16 and drop out, without realizing that assistance is available.

Neither youth nor parents have ever been consulted about the programme. Payment is made directly to the parent. Since family environment and parental influence play an important role in the educational decision-making, it may well be that more young people might benefit if the money were paid directly to the student who currently has little or no say as to how that money is spent.

4 Youth Allowances

Recommendation 4

It is recommended:

a) that the existing Youth Allowance programme be thoroughly evaluated to determine its effectiveness in encouraging the 16-18 age group to stay in school;

b) that such an evaluation take into account the socio-economic background of recipients, and also the actual impact which $10 a month has in determining educational choices;

c) that, on the basis of this evaluation, the federal government consider establishing an alternative and more effective programme;

d) that, in the interim, since educational choices which affect future careers are often made at 13 or 14 years of age, consideration be given to providing information about the programme well before the potential recipient reaches his sixteenth birthday.

Summer Language Courses

Department Involved:
Secretary of State,
Official Languages Branch

Purposes of the Programme

During the summer of 1970, as part of the federal government's emergency summer programme for students, the Department of the Secretary of State established a programme through which students could attend a five to six-week course in English or French at universities across the country.

How the Programme Works

Quota for the programme was 1,000 students who had completed Grade 12. Students applied for the course at Canada Manpower Centres which in turn contacted the universities concerned, which made the selection. The Department of the Secretary of State paid the full cost of room, board and tuition. The Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada (AUCC) acted as consultant in selecting the 14 participating universities.

Effectiveness of the Programme

Although it is too early to evaluate the effectiveness of this programme, the concept is sound. Even so, since the programme did not include a salary, it benefited only those students who were comparatively affluent.

5 Summer Language Courses

Recommendation 5

It is recommended:

a) that if the plan is to be continued, students who are selected receive either a salary or financial credit at their universities for a part of the following year's expenses;

b) that, if these conditions are met, the programme be broadened to include more students, and more universities.

Section II - Employment

Introduction

In the last few years, it has become increasingly evident that young people are having more trouble finding jobs than almost any other group in the economy. Although the rate of employment growth among youth exceeded the national rate between 1966 and 1969, more youth entered the labour force than any other group. In fact, according to the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, in 1969 approximately 45% of all Canadians unemployed were between the ages of 15 and 24. By 1970, even the rate for young people's employment growth increased less than the national rate. Unemployment constitutes the greatest single problem and concern of Canadian youth this Committee has encountered. As documented in Chapter I, and described in Chapter II, employment problems vary by region and, of course, by socio-economic class. But one way or another, they underlie almost all the topics discussed throughout this Report.

Here we are concerned with existing federal programmes. It is clear that none of these at present are serving young people as well as they should, and in the way they should. Before pinpointing specific trouble spots, however, it is important to come to terms with some of the root causes of present problems.

Most young Canadians who are not in school are in the labour market - but not necessarily in the labour force. Whether or not they are in the labour force depends largely on how well they are educated, and where they live. There is an integral relationship between education and employment which in turn relates to geographic factors. In Quebec and the Atlantic provinces for example, where the level of education is considerably lower than in other parts of the country, unemployment rates are highest; Quebec has the highest proportion of people with no more than elementary schooling, and the Atlantic provinces have the lowest proportion of university-trained people.[55]

Although people over 24, of course, suffer from the same disadvantage, particularly during the present period of increasing unemployment, it is the young people without experience as well as education who are generally the last to be hired and the first to be fired. In addition, public opinion of young people (i.e., that they are unreliable, long-haired pot-smokers) results in a certain amount of overt job discrimination.

55. *Special Labour Force Statistics*, no. 7, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Ottawa, 1968, p. 8.

The University Graduate

That uneducated and untrained young people should have trouble finding jobs is predictable. Much more surprising is the fact that an increasing number of highly educated youth are experiencing similar problems.

Over the past 10 years, enrolment in Canadian universities doubled to approximately 299,000.[56] In 1969, a record 66,000 degrees were issued, including 8,500 at the masters level and 1,300 at the doctoral level.[57] But this increase in the level of education has not resulted in full employment and better jobs for the graduates. To the contrary, during 1969 the total number of university graduates hired declined, particularly among graduates from the arts.[58] Similarly, although the demand for community college graduates increased by 11% in 1969, this scarcely offset the 34% increase in community college enrolment in the same year.[59] At the time of publication, although reliable statistics are not yet available, this trend has obviously been confirmed and has reached severe proportions in 1970 and 1971.

Why this startling decline in job opportunities for graduates? One answer is declining job opportunities in areas in which graduates have traditionally looked for work. The federal government is a case in point. As a result of the 1969 decision to reduce the size of the civil service, federal programmes of university recruitment for administrative trainees or foreign service officers have been sharply reduced.

In educational institutions, at the primary and secondary levels, the teacher shortage of the past generation is giving way to a growing surplus of teachers. In post-secondary institutions, the problem is aggravated by the influx of foreign professors, and by the lack of research undertaken in this country. Per capita expenditure on research is less than one-third of what it is in the United States.[60]

Lack of research also cuts down on the employment potential of industry. As has been pointed out, "the growth in this sector during the past few years has fallen far short of expectation".[61] Many Canadian industries are in effect no more than branch plants of American firms; most of their research is conducted in the United States. One estimate states that Canadian industry employs only about one-fiftieth of the number of research personnel found in American firms.

Summer Employment

Undergraduates face a more immediate difficulty: nearly all (90% of males and 83% of females in 1969[62]) are in the market for summer employment. In 1969, only 55% of the males and 54%[63] of the females who actually did obtain work were satisfied with the amount of work they obtained. Most stated that they would have preferred at least one to six weeks more work. The largest group wanted another three to four weeks. To compound the problem, the Canada Student Loans Plan and other student aid programmes assume that students will have accumulated savings from summer work. Thus an increasing number of students are experiencing serious difficulties finding enough money to return to school, or to remain there once returned.

This problem is perhaps most acute for female students; as Manpower's Summer Employment Survey points out, female students consistently earn less than male students in the same occupation. Women, of course, face employment difficulties at all levels. It is as much a question of finding a job, as of encountering discrimination in that job. A number of recent studies[64] have documented this discrimination in detail and little can be added here, other than to mention that it is young women between 16 and 25 who participate most actively in the labour force. Their special needs, such as training and recruitment programmes, salaries and day-care facilities, must increasingly be taken into account in planning future employment programmes.

The statistics from the survey for the summer of 1970 show little change in this trend. Even a higher percentage of the student population was seeking work. During that summer, 91.9% of the males and 86.9%[65] of the females looked for employment. Of the students who worked, 58.6%[66] were employed for less than 12 weeks, a period of

56. *New University Graduates, Supply and Demand.* Department of Manpower and Immigration. Ottawa, 1970.
57. *New University Graduates, Supply and Demand.* Department of Manpower and Immigration, Ottawa, 1969.
58. *Requirements and Starting Salaries: University Graduates 1969.* Manpower and Immigration Programme Development Service. Ottawa, 1969. p. 5.
59. Estimate from Department of Manpower and Immigration.
60. *University Research and the Federal Government. op. cit.* p. 16.
61. *Ibid.* p. 17.
62. *Summer Employment Survey of Post-Secondary Students in Canada 1969.* Manpower Information and Analyses Branch. Ottawa, 1970. p. 85.
63. *Ibid.* p. 8.
64. Most notably the *Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada,* and *Sex and the Public Service,* a study prepared for the Public Service Commission by Dr. Kathleen Archibald. Ottawa, August 1970.
65. *Summer Employment Survey of Post-Secondary Students in Canada 1970 - Preliminary Tables.* Manpower Information and Analyses Branch. Ottawa, 1971.
66. *Ibid.*

time that eliminates any possibility of summer savings.

In spite of recent movements for greater equality, women continue to experience greater difficulty in finding summer jobs. The difference between their wages and those of men was equivalent, at least for post-secondary students, to tuition fees.

Federal Government Involvement

Unlike the educational programmes which involve indirect support of provincial programmes, Ottawa's employment schemes constitute direct services. The 365 Canada Manpower Centres (CMC) across the country provide access to most of these schemes, which range from job retraining to summer employment. The trouble is that these centres, including the 55 on-campus Manpower centres, have not yet become identified in the minds of young people as centres which take a dynamic initiative in helping them find jobs. In 1969 only 8% of all students who found their main summer jobs found them through Manpower offices.[67]

Unquestionably, the major difficulty is that the centres function primarily as referral centres for employers rather than as placement services for employees. This orientation is reflected in the information available about the Manpower Centres; all Manpower publicity concentrated on "inspiring the confidence of employers... (but) as far as employee clients are concerned, the Department's public information programme has been minimal".[68]

Another difficulty is the quality of individual counselling available at Manpower offices. In few other fields of the public service is so much power delegated to a single individual; there is evidence that these individuals do not always wield their powers well. It would be unwise to suggest that the Department formulate strict qualifications for Manpower Counsellors, since a person with little formal education who has been through the unemployment mill himself may often be more effective than an inexperienced college graduate. However, it may be suggested that the Manpower Department, in recruiting its counsellors, look for sensitivity and initiative. It is equally important for the Department to establish both some mechanism for evaluating its counsellors and some form of quality control over the counselling they provide.

It is recognized that Manpower policies and programming operate within the confines of economic policy, and to that extent Manpower officials are seriously handicapped in performing their responsibilities in a period of high unemployment. The public generally, over the last few years, has come to expect Manpower to provide training and employment. Although Manpower as an employment agency is a necessary and vital function, the needs of people for guidance and counselling in their occupational and career searches merits equal consideration. Here the criticisms of Manpower move beyond the Department itself to a more generalized concern about the role of Manpower activity in relation to collective and individual needs for employment opportunity, training and counselling.

A total of 13 programmes relating to youth employment were examined. The major ones are considered here. The other schemes, treated in an appendix, include: Client Testing Service; Franco-Canadian Stagiaire Agreement; Vocational Rehabilitation of Disabled Persons; Services to Disadvantaged Groups; Recruitment for the Permanent Component of the Armed Forces; Manpower Mobility and the Mobile Counselling Unit.

The following programmes of more immediate concern are considered in depth in this section:

Occupational Training for Adults;

summer employment;

research, information, and publications.

Occupational Training for Adults (OTA)

Purposes of the Programme

The OTA programme began in 1967. According to the Act, its purpose is to "provide training for (an) adult and increase his earning capacity or his opportunities for employment."[69] Since it includes academic upgrading as well as technical training, the programme is to some degree educational in content. However, by using "training" and "adult" as operative words, as well as by stipulating that in order to qualify for a training allowance applicants must have been in the labour force for at least three years, Ottawa may be avoiding a constitutional conflict with the provinces. But this solution, however constitutionally safe, works to the disadvantage of many young people.

How the Programme Works

Instead of setting up its own courses, the

67. *Summer Employment Survey of Post-Secondary Students in Canada 1969. op. cit.* p. 9.

68. *To Know and Be Known.* Report of the Task Force on Information, vol. 2, Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1969. p. 215.

69. *Adult Occupational Training Act.* May 8, 1967, Chapter 94, *Hansard.*

federal government operates OTA by buying space in programmes run by the provinces or private industry, and by providing successful candidates with an "earn while you learn" allowance which varies from $43 to $111[70] per week, depending on the region and the number of dependants. Within the programme, there are three separate schemes.

Occupational Training Courses

Candidates apply to their local CMC. If eligible, they are directed to a specific course - upgrading, or technical - usually in a provincial institution. The province is paid in full for the spaces taken, and most candidates receive a training allowance.

Apprenticeship Programme

Applicants for these programmes must be selected and certified by provincial labour departments, and in order to qualify they must be already employed. The province is paid for their training through the "block release system" and apprentices are usually eligible for training allowances.[71]

Training in Industry

Through this scheme, the federal government contracts with private employers to hire trainees or retrain employees. Employers choose the candidates and are reimbursed for the out-of-pocket cost of any classroom training involved, and for a portion of each trainee's wages up to the maximum federal allowance for which he is eligible.

In any one scheme, the maximum allowable training time is 52 weeks full-time or 1820 hours part-time.[72] A course of basic training, or adademic upgrading, may be followed by a course in specialized skills up to a maximum of two years.

Who is Eligible?

Applicants must be one year over school-leaving age and not have attended school for at least 12 months. However, in order to qualify for a training allowance, applicants must have been in the labour force at least three years, or have at least one dependant. Immigrants may qualify, usually for language training, under the same conditions as a Canadian citizen.

In 1969-70, a total of 304,899 Canadians were taking part in the programme. Of the 193,000 individuals who began full-time training in public institutions during the fiscal year 1969-70:

— 152,600 were males, and 40,400 females;
— 81,500 trainees, both males and females, were under 25 (approximately 42.2%);
— 14,600 of the total trainees were under 20 (approximately 7.6%), (this is only about 12% of unemployed youth in this age bracket);
— the number of male trainees under 20 was 9,800 (6.4% of all male trainees);
— the number of female trainees under 20 was 4,800 (11.9% of all female trainees).[73]

There were 116,000[74] youth under 20 unemployed in 1970; only 14,600 were retrained under the OTA. These figures would indicate that, at present, OTA does not relate to the problem of these unemployed youth.

Effectiveness of the Programme

The most detailed evaluation of OTA to date is contained in a recent departmental report based on a survey of recent OTA graduates. The report is limited insofar as it is concerned only with trainees who were referred to courses by Manpower counsellors and thus excludes apprentices and those trained in industry and private institutions. Nevertheless it does provide a good deal of useful information on the effectiveness of the programme. Its findings are as follows:

— between January 1 and September 30, 1969, 83,193 candidates completed their training; approximately 50,000 (60%) replied to a questionnaire circulated four months after graduation;
— of these, 97% considered their courses worthwhile;
— approximately ¾ found the courses "quite a bit of help"; younger males (under 19) and older males (over 44) in particular were able to improve their employment prospects;
— 31% of applicants had been employed before training;
— 75% were fully employed three to four months after training;
— 70% of those who had taken skilled training were employed in jobs directly related to their training; their increases in earnings amounted to a monthly average of $43 for men, $47 for women; earning gains were highest among the youngest group.

70. Figures from the Department of Manpower and Immigration for 1970-71.
71. Interview, Ontario Department of Labour.
72. *Adult Occupational Training Act. Ibid.*
73. Figures from Department of Manpower and Immigration.
74. See Chapter I.

As these figures demonstrate, there is no question that OTA is a valuable and useful programme. However, with some changes in thinking and direction, it could become much more effective.

The most pressing need is to relax the regulations which stipulate that in order to qualify for a training allowance, applicants must have been in the labour force for three years. Primarily because of this stipulation, the programme is of relatively little use to any one under 20. Yet the Manpower survey of recent OTA graduates discovered that those young males under 19 who did manage to get into the programme were among those who benefited most.

Perhaps in political terms the regulations make sense. In human terms, they are callous. Many young people are being automatically condemned to three years of unemployment - or at the very least, under-employment - before they become eligible for retraining. These regulations also operate to the detriment of many widows and deserted wives, since married women are not considered to be part of the labour force unless they are actively seeking work, have been attached to the labour force earlier, or have dependants.

In addition, as it is presently constituted, OTA does not reach a large percentage of the hard-core unemployed, the people who need retraining the most. Although some 21,000 trainees with Grade 6 education or less were referred to full-time training at public institutions in 1969, the 52 week limit on subsidized upgrading prevents many from qualifying for effective retraining. A skilled programme may follow a basic one; however, most skilled programmes require a Grade 10 standard of education, and many individuals are simply unable to reach this standard in 52 weeks.

OTA has no effective appeal procedure. A person who feels that he has not been treated properly may have his case reviewed by a senior counsellor. However, it is difficult to imagine that many senior officers will reverse the decisions of fellow officers or that the applicant is frequently informed of his appeal rights. The last word on appeals continues to remain with the officers in the particular Manpower centre.

Finally, in administering the OTA programme, local Canada Manpower Centres have almost unlimited powers. The introduction to this section set out several general criticisms of CMC's. All of these apply in full measure to the CMC's handling of OTA. Many Manpower counsellors are unable to fit individuals into long-term retraining and occupational programmes.

6 Occupational Training for Adults

Recommendation 6

The goal of the OTA programme should be the co-ordinated development of human potential through increasing employability and earning power. Thus it is recommended:

a) that in co-operation with provincial governments the OTA programme be re-assessed, re-evaluated and reworked so as to remove the "three years in the labour force" stipulation for training allowances, and to extend the period of training allowed under the programme;

b) that local Canada Manpower Centres be required to operate OTA more efficiently by the introduction of an appeal procedure and an evaluation, of the effectiveness of Manpower counselling and individual Manpower counsellors, in which clients can also make an input.

Summer Employment

Traditionally, Canadian students have depended on summer earnings to finance part, and sometimes all, of the costs of their education. According to a DBS survey, summer savings constitute the largest single source of income for financing education - approximately 40%.[75] The Canada Student Loans Plan and other student aid programmes assume that students will have worked during the summer.

However over the last decade, summer jobs have become increasingly difficult to find.[76] By 1968 the situation had reached almost crisis proportions, and a special Task Force was appointed to investigate. Its findings resulted in a special employment programme for the summer of 1969, which included:

— a $259,000 "hire a student" publicity campaign at the local, regional, and national levels;
— hiring of 450 special student counsellors for Manpower Centres across the country;
— an increase of 10% in the number of students hired by the federal government;
— a reduction of 50% in the number of foreign students coming to work on farms in Canada.[77]

In 1970, as a record 641,000[78] students entered the labour market, Operation Placement was initiated to augment Manpower services. It was the creation of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce, with the co-operation of the University Career Planning Association, and the Economic Council of Canada. Its goal was to find 500,000 jobs. Students who applied to regular Manpower Centres for employment were referred to Operation Placement, thereby leaving Manpower Centres free to handle "adult" job applicants. The Department hired 500 students to staff the Placement Centres. In addition, Manpower again provided $260,000 for a "hire a student" campaign, and the federal government itself arranged to hire 11,500 summer students: in June of that year this was increased by 5,800.[79]

Operation Placement by itself was not enough. An emergency summer programme was therefore instituted by the Departments of Manpower, Defence, and Secretary of State. Under this scheme:

— youth hostels were established in armouries across the country;
— students were hired for the militia and for work on Armed Forces bases;
— the federal government paid room, board and tuition for 1,000 students to study French and English at universities across the country.

The employment situation for the summer of 1970 was studied in detail by the Department of Manpower and Immigration.[80] For post-secondary students, the unemployment rate rose from 7% in 1969 to 11% in 1970. For secondary students, it rose from 16 to 21%. More specifically, the findings were as follows:

Number Seeking Work

— 92% of the males and 87% of the female students[81] sought work during the summer. There were considerable regional variations: in Newfoundland, only 86% of the male students looked for work as against 95% in Ontario.

Amount of Work Found

— males who found employment worked an average of 12 weeks; females worked an average of 11 weeks.
— 16% of the post-secondary male students and 21% of the female students who found work worked for 8 weeks or less.
— 51% of all male students and 16% of all female students were satisfied with the amount of time they worked; male and female students who were not satisfied desired an average of 5 weeks more.

Wage Rates and Savings

— the average weekly wage for all males was $90; for females, $60.
— male students saved an average of $540; females $360.

Manpower Centres

— 20% of the students who sought work did so through on-campus Manpower Centres; 20% through off-campus Manpower Centres.
— 10% of the students found their principal employment through Manpower Centres - 6% on-campus 4% off-campus.

75. DBS. *Post-Secondary Student Population Survey 1968-69, Ottawa, 1970.*
76. See Chapter I.
77. MacEachen, Hon. Allen, Statement on Student Summer Employment, July 23, 1969.
78. *Hansard,* May 4, 1970.
79. Manpower Division, Department of Manpower and Immigration.
80. *Summer Employment Survey of Post-Secondary Students in Canada,* Department of Manpower and Immigration. Ottawa, March 1971.
81. Students, when used here, includes high school and post-secondary students unless specified.

Work in Relation to Study

— 15% of post-secondary students found summer work related to their field of study.

— 18% of post-secondary students found work partly related to their field of study. Some significant differences existed at the provincial level, especially in the case of community college students. For these students, the proportion who found work related to their field of study ranged from 20% in British Columbia to 52% in Saskatchewan. There were only slight differences between males and females.

It is obvious from this survey that at least a third of the post-secondary students did not earn enough to make any kind of contribution towards financing their education. Sixteen per cent of the males and 20% of the female students worked for eight weeks or less. To qualify for a student loan - taking the Ontario formula as an example - a student would have to work at least eight weeks in order to make the personal contribution required. This is based on the unlikely assumption that he could save his entire earnings. Thus, at least a third of those who did obtain employment could not possibly pay for any proportion of their education. Although it is difficult to compare these figures with the previous year, there is reason to suspect that the situation is worse since, in 1969, 77% of post-secondary students worked seven weeks or less.

The survey demonstrates that Manpower Centres are not successful in finding summer employment. Although 40% of those students who sought work approached Manpower Centres, only 10% of those who found work did so through Manpower Centres. Many more students used Manpower Centres in 1970 than in 1969 - 40% as compared to 25% - but nearly the same percentage received jobs through these Centres (10% as compared to 8%). It would appear that the Manpower service has not improved over the last year in terms of finding summer employment for students. This is not surprising given the enormity of the current summer employment problem, and it is misleading to believe that Manpower alone can resolve this dilemma.

Female students meet with considerable discrimination in terms of summer employment. On the average, they worked fewer weeks than males, and their weekly wage was lower than that of males by an average of $30. In this regard, the federal and provincial governments provided a poor example: over the working period, the federal government paid an average of $725 to males and $600 to females; the provincial government rates were $800 for males and $535 for females. While the provincial governments hired more females than males - 11% and 10% respectively - the federal government employed 12% of the males who obtained work but only 7% of the females.

However, the federal government did make an attempt to equalize regional opportunities. In Newfoundland and Nova Scotia where jobs were scarcer, the federal government hired 14% and 27% respectively of the students who found work, as against 11% in Canada as a whole. In spite of these attempts by the federal government, significant employment differences remained among the various provinces. In Nova Scotia, 28% of the students seeking work did not find employment, while in Manitoba and Alberta, only 6% of those seeking jobs failed to find one.

Fewer than 15% of students who found jobs saw a significant relationship between their summer employment and their permanent careers. By itself, this perhaps is not important; there may be a good deal to be said for spending the summer doing something entirely different from what will be the student's life work. But where possible, summer work should be meaningful and productive. The Manpower survey did not question the student's goal in relation to his expected summer work.

A special study commissioned by the Committee in the Ottawa area demonstrated that few students find that their summer work has any real merit, or that it can even be described as work.[82] Specifically, this study found that only 25.5% of students found their summer jobs relevant. This figure was highest among engineering students (90%), and lowest among female students. Furthermore, only 5% of students who worked for the federal government and 11% of those employed in the private sector actually worked seven hours a day. The majority claimed that they spent no more than four hours daily on useful work.

Thus we have a situation where, on the one hand, students find it increasingly difficult to find jobs and on the other, most of the work they find is meaningless "make-work" of little use to student or to employer.

The Longer View

Students seek summer employment to help finance their education. The fact that student loan schemes demand personal contributions calculated on the basis of summer earnings constitutes, in effect, a direct order to work. And yet it is no longer possible - and given the annual growth in student population it is certain to become increasingly less possible - for all students to find work.

The summer employment situation has an even more serious dimension. By insisting that students work

82. Sandbrook, Judith. *Youth and Work: An Analysis of Post Secondary School Students and Temporary Employment.* Report to the Committee on Youth. June 1970.

during the summer, and by making considerable efforts to find them jobs, we would suspect that the federal government is in effect working against the hard-core unemployed, i.e., those individuals, mostly adults with families to support, for whom employment is an absolute necessity. It would appear that many of the unskilled jobs that are given to students could be given to other unskilled workers. Proof for this statement does not exist since no studies have been undertaken on this question.

As current employment rates demonstrate, the labour market is already heavily overburdened. By spending more than a quarter of a million dollars on its "hire a student" advertising campaign, Ottawa is actually encouraging employers not to hire other people whose need for a job is almost certainly greater. There is also a painful contradiction between a federal policy of austerity which decrees that adults should be laid off from various government departments and agencies, and the frantic federal efforts to create expensive "make-work" summer projects for university students.

Government, and in the long run, society must face the fact that summer employment of students is an anachronism. If this thesis is accepted, governments and post-secondary institutions will have to work together to devise new methods of financing post-secondary education. One answer may well be to adopt the trimester system at all universities and colleges. In the short term, if government is going to spend vast sums on students in the summer, why not spend these sums usefully? Why not, for example, provide students with grants so that they may take additional courses? (The summer language training programme, limited as it was, sets an excellent precedent.) Why not channel energies into meaningful community development projects? Why not give students sufficient funds to travel and see the country? All these alternatives are infinitely preferable to filling government offices and military bases with extra hands for whom there is no real work.

7 Summer Employment

Recommendation 7

It is recommended:

a) that educational institutions and the governments which finance them seriously consider alternatives to the existing school-year pattern: trimester system, co-operative system, quarterly system;

b) that as long as universities continue their present eight-month system, the federal government and other relevant governments, institutions, organizations and agencies search for methods of channelling student energies into useful and socially valuable projects - for example, community development programmes or programmes of further education;

c) that the role of the Department of Manpower and Immigration, and of Manpower Centres, be examined critically in order to improve their effectiveness as a student placement service within the context of current economic restraints;

d) that the federal government, in co-operation with provincial governments, the AUCC, the Economic Council of Canada, and other relevant institutions and organizations re-evaluate the whole question of summer employment, particularly in terms of developing alternative methods of financing higher education.

A number of the Department of Manpower's activities in these areas relate directly to youth.

Research

The Department of Manpower and Immigration provides a number of useful services. For example, it provides occupational data for counsellors. This material, designed for guidance officers at educational institutions, includes occupational briefs, monographs outlining job opportunities in specific fields, and selected bibliographies of occupational publications.

The brochure, *Entry Requirements,* prepared by the research branch, provides full information on professional and occupational licensing qualifications laid down by federal and provincial statutes. It also outlines citizenship and language requirements.

The Department conducted the *Career Decisions Project,* a study of how secondary school students across Canada make occupational and educational choices.

The Survey of Graduating Classes in Canadian Universities is compiled by means of a questionnaire sent to graduating students in Architecture, Engineering, Physical, Life, and Social Sciences. It is primarily intended for internal departmental use, to maintain a file of Canada's highly qualified manpower. In 1969, monographs of the survey were published and circulated to provincial governments and educational institutions. This survey is carried out by Manpower Information and Analyses Branch within the Programme Development Service.

Information

In terms of information, the Department of Manpower has organized 27 regional exhibits, primarily designed to augment "Career Nights" at educational institutions. Their 18 minute film, "CMC - A total Service", while not specifically aimed at youth, includes information on services available at CMC's.

Publications

The most important information activity is the Department's publication programme. The booklet, *University Career Outlook,* is designed to give high school seniors and college freshmen some idea of the career training available in Canadian universities, and outlines career opportunities in Canada in general. It also includes some information about the labour market, such as starting salaries. Its annual circulation is 190,000.[83]

A parallel publication, *Community College Career Outlook,* is aimed at high school students and at those recently enrolled in community colleges, CEGEP's and technical institutes; annual circulation, 160,000.

The *Directory of Employers,* aimed at university graduates, is designed to provide them with information about employment opportunities in Canada. It includes a general description of the employment scene, plus a directory of Canadian employers; 20,000 copies are distributed annually. It is distributed abroad through Operation Retrieval.

Primarily designed for counsellors and employers, and to a lesser extent for students, the booklet *University Graduate Requirements* outlines requirements and starting salary rates for recent graduates, taking account of regional variation; 5,800 copies are distributed annually. A companion volume, *Community College Requirements,* is concerned with requirements and starting salaries for community colleges graduates.

University and Community College Guide to Graduations and Average Starting Salaries is a study aimed primarily at Manpower counsellors, educators, and employers. It is designed to help them utilize highly-trained manpower most effectively; annual circulation, 6,200.

Supply and Demand - New University Graduates is a booklet designed for use by Manpower counsellors, educators, and employers to enable them to regulate the supply and plan the utilization of highly-qualified manpower; annual circulation, 8,000.

Effectiveness of these Programmes

The goal of the youth-oriented research and information programmes of the Department of Manpower is to see that university and community college graduates find employment of a type and at a salary level commensurate with their qualifications. The value of these programmes rests on the quality of the material disseminated and the methods of distribution.

A basically different type of information is required. It is necessary that Manpower information and research be related to general economic and social policy. Specifically, information must place educational choices and activities within the context of the current and projected job market. The development of such a programme of research and information must be capable of relating to large-scale programmes of regional development as well as pro-

83. All figures on circulation taken from the *O'Brien Report, op. cit.*

vincial development in education at all levels.

Another serious problem is that the right information about the relation of various careers to the labour market is not getting to the right people at the right time. Only the *Careers Outlook* booklets are widely distributed to students and these deal in generalities. They describe careers in vague, glowing terms which bear little relation to the present and probable future realities of the labour market. Those publications which contain detailed, factual information are directed towards guidance officers and Manpower counsellors; their effectiveness therefore depends on the effectiveness of these individuals.

Even the *Careers Outlook* publications are distributed primarily to high-school graduates and university freshmen. Important career decisions - at least in terms of choosing study programmes which will limit future careers - are made much earlier than this, usually at the Grade 9 or 10 level. In this regard, it might be useful for the Department to produce an informational brochure, simple in content and appealing in design, aimed specifically at parents whose own level of education is low, to encourage them to see the need for their children to remain in school. There is no need for the Department to concentrate exclusively on print; effective use might be made of audio-visual techniques.

The new policy of including a card in all copies of publications produced in 1970 asking for comments and suggestions is to be commended. It is hoped that the Department will canvass students for their opinions on the usefulness of these publications.

8 Research, Information and Publications

Recommendation 8

It is recommended:

a) that the Research and Information programmes of the Department of Manpower and Immigration be re-evaluated, re-assessed and reworked in order to:
i) provide the most useful and practical information possible to the largest number of students and parents;
ii) provide this information at the early high school level;
iii) relate career choices more directly to the labour market and to over-all economic trends;
iv) make more use of film and other audio-visual techniques.

Section III - Travel and Exchange

Introduction

In the summer of 1969, everywhere more and more young people were travelling.[84] In the summer of 1970, about 7,000 youth stayed at 97 hostels in 60 different Canadian communities each night.[85] There were several reasons for the unprecedented number of youth on the road in Canada last summer. In part, it was a reflection of the scarcity of employment. Many were either seeking employment in other areas or travelling as an alternative to employment. However, young people were also seeking excitement and challenge; an opportunity for exploration and for gaining a general awareness of the conditions of life and attitudes of others. Without employment, family or philosophical ties of their elders, they were freer to travel for long periods of time without fixed itineraries.

Many members of the adult community have reacted against this movement of young people across the country. As a result, they consider support for travel services - particularly support for hostels - an encouragement of idle transients and one which they are not prone to sanction.

The Committee, however, sees travel as providing exciting and meaningful alternative patterns of socialization and development in Canada. It views travel as a legitimate educational activity, an alternative to the structured relationships of the classroom, an introduction to "the geography of the country, and to political, educational, cultural, and artistic achievements of people from other provinces."[86]

Ideally, the Committee would advocate the reality and legitimacy of young Canadians being able to spend a two or three year period of their lives in travel, work, and study in all parts of the country. Such activity would be credited in continuing education and work programmes. If this were the case, the education systems would work towards a greater degree of flexibility in permitting and encouraging viable exchange experiences related to work and study programmes.

In approaching this "best of all possible worlds", the Committee sees a definite role for the federal government. The government through its support for the Young Voyageurs Programme and the grants to national youth hostels and to voluntary agencies has already indicated its awareness of the value of travel experience. Disparity between regions in terms of resources and travel facilities, the very vastness of Canada, and the interprovincial nature of Canadian travel necessitates federal involvement. In this regard, there is also a need for co-ordination of the services offered by various national organizations and information on their travel facilities.

The variety in laws that affect travelling youth - hitchhiking laws, vagrancy laws and majority age regulations - indicate the need for a national initiative in promoting interprovincial agreements to develop more uniform regulations. Federal initiative is required to establish the right to travel and also dissuade communities and provinces from unnecessary and unwarranted acts of hostility against those who choose to travel.

Many people react against transient youth and feel that support for services will encourage more people to travel. The Committee would argue that young Canadians will continue to be mobile, and the increased availability of such services will not necessarily affect the numbers, but will no doubt improve the experience for both the travellers and the community. If the community is involved in determining the kinds and location of facilities, the tension between travellers and residents should, hopefully, decrease. To this end, youth should be involved in the planning and administration of these facilities. This involvement is only feasible through a decentralization of the decision-making process.

What is required is a flexible structure capable of responding to a constantly changing situation; a structure capable of responding to new values and patterns of behaviour. Because of this need for greater flexibility and decentralization, and because the various aspects of travel affect more than one government department, radical changes in the structure of administering these programmes are in order. Central administration does not provide the flexibility and involvement needed for the success of these programmes.

The Committee feels that these travel programmes should meet several criteria. They should attempt to encourage as many youth as possible to travel. In particular, they should encourage those from disadvantaged areas and families to take part in these experiences. Travel has traditionally been the prerogative of advantaged groups; the government does not need to provide special support in order to encourage youth from such families to travel. Programmes should attempt to equalize resources through support to locally initiated projects, particularly those which will provide opportunities for those untouched by existing organizations and services.

Programmes should also be flexible and responsive to youth. Too many programmes attempt to organize the little unorganized time that youth has left. The young

84. Canadian Welfare Council. *Transient Youth, A Report of an Inquiry into the Summer of 1969.*

85. Caution in using these figures is urged since they do not accurately reflect the much larger numbers who were travelling.

86. Secretary of State. *Annual Report.* 1968-69. Travel and Exchange Division.

people travelling across Canada indicate a desire to determine their own itineraries. Uniform schemes administered from the national level rely on established channels for selection and evaluation. Travel programmes should seek to supply services for a wide variety of youths at reasonable cost. Carefully organized travel programmes, like the Young Voyageur Programme, necessarily cost more and include fewer people than facilities such as hostels.

Recommendations are made in the final chapter of the Report for the establishment of a new organization which would, among other functions, operate travel and exchange programmes. This section analyzes the existing programmes, and suggests how they should fit into a larger scheme.

The following programmes are considered:

Young Voyageurs;

Grants to Voluntary Agencies;

1970 Summer Hostel Programme;

youth fares and charter flights.

Young Voyageurs

Department Involved:
Secretary of State,
Travel and Exchange Division

Purpose of the Programme

Young Voyageurs is the expanded continuation of the Centennial Commission's 1967 interprovincial youth exchange programme. Its purpose is simple: to give youth the opportunity to see other parts of the country; to meet their counterparts in other areas and, in the process, to come to know and understand Canada better.

How the Programme Works

Young Voyageurs depends on federal-provincial co-operation. Working guidelines are developed at annual federal-provincial conferences on travel and exchange. In 1970-71, 3,500 youth travelled in 153 units of 23 participants (10 boys, 11 girls, and 2 adults). The total budget from Travel and Exchange was $610,000, with an additional $50,000 from the Centennial Commission for Manitoba's Centennial.[87]

To qualify, applicants must be between the ages of 15 and 18, and in the second last year of secondary school. The provinces choose the successful applicants. The majority of the provinces set up regional selection committees comprised of school superintendents, principals, and teachers. In the case of Manitoba, a lottery system is used. Forty per cent of the voyageurs came from Ontario and Quebec. The Yukon and Northwest Territories have a minimum of one unit each; Prince Edward Island has three units. Elsewhere, the number of units depends on that proportion of the provincial population which is between the ages of 15 and 18.

The federal government pays the interprovincial travel cost for each unit. The limit is $120 per student. Other federal financial responsibilities include payments to the provinces of:
— $75 for each outgoing unit, to cover incidental expenses;
— $575 to cover hosting expenses for each incoming unit.

Ottawa also plans and co-ordinates all itineraries. The aim is to move each unit to a region distinctly different from its own, at the same time avoiding very long distances. Ottawa also arranges and pays for each unit to have a one-day visit to the national capital and provides each voyageur with a travel bag and luggage stickers.

Besides choosing participants, provincial governments are responsible for:
— playing host, for a period of seven days, to the same number of units as left the province; this includes arranging accommodation and organizing programmes and activities;
— insurance and medical coverage;
— the internal administration of each unit.

In addition to these basic expenditures, some provinces make substantial financial contributions; Ontario for example, provides $480 per unit; others provide nothing.

Effectiveness of the Programme

The principle behind Young Voyageurs is a sound one. As it operates, however, the programme contains a number of serious flaws.

Young Voyageurs has a built-in bias towards young persons who are supported by and sanctioned by traditional organizations. The federal government is to be commended for its elimination of the previous criteria which set down, as standards for participation, demonstrated leadership ability with a record of extra-curricular activity, proper deportment to be a worthy ambassador to another province, and at least average academic standing. However, as long

87. Secretary of State, Travel and Exchange Division.

as the final decision still rests with superintendents, principals, and teachers, there is a tendency to apply educational standards which in turn perpetuate those kinds of criteria that have been eliminated.

In 1969, the Department in Ottawa circulated a questionnaire about Young Voyageurs to the provinces. In replying to a question concerning the method of selection, most provinces stated that they were looking for students with a "social sense" or who were "neat" and "well-mannered". Some sought candidates who had "an ability to express themselves" or who were "good at writing thank-you letters".

The fact that most escorts are teachers (Ontario and British Columbia in fact require teachers as escorts and only Alberta makes an effort to recruit outside the teaching profession) means that the programme is in many cases a continuation of the classroom. This may well be enough to discourage many students from applying; certainly it reinforces the image of Young Voyageurs as a vehicle for middle-class, academically-oriented young people.

A number of more specific problems compound this overriding difficulty. The programme is uneven. In some cases, individual provinces contribute substantially to Young Voyageurs. Obviously, in such provinces more and better activities will be provided than in provinces which cannot afford to contribute or which choose not to do so. Furthermore, the preponderance of voyageurs comes from central Canada. This could be explained on the basis of distribution of population and travel efficiency. But the poorer regions of the country are also the most isolated. Young people from these areas should be given equal consideration.

It should be noted that this has not gone entirely unrecognized. In a speech in October 1969, the Minister then responsible for Young Voyageurs, the Honourable Gérard Pelletier, remarked that the programme as it existed did not reach the "economically, socially and culturally deprived" and that consideration should be given to devising additional programmes for them. In the past year, they have also encouraged, through their brochures, young people with limited or no interprovincial travel experience in Canada to apply.

Young people are not involved in planning and evaluating the programme. Voyageurs have surprisingly little say about where they go or what they do when they get there. Only in Manitoba is the student so much as given a choice of destination. It is true that at least six provinces use student reports as a guide to their own planning, and that 700 letters from participants were received at the federal level in 1970. However, there is no formal mechanism to ensure that student opinions and choices are considered at the national level.

9 Young Voyageurs

Recommendation 9

During the last two years, the policies and operation of the Travel and Exchange Branch have undergone major changes in order to make the travel programme more accessible. This then provides a good base for an expanded operation which takes into account the fact that travel is coming to have a meaning and role which extend far beyond the previous concept of vacation - recreation, and this shift holds some definite structural implications.

If travel is accepted as being an integral phase in the growth of community and regional awareness, as well as a specific leisure activity, programmes must facilitate the application of this larger perspective: intra-regional travel is best equalized at that level. Similarly, if travel is to be viewed as a legitimate area of educational experience, travel programmes will have to be developed in conjunction with municipal and provincial officials. In order to do so, local groups must have actual use of, and control over, resources currently at the disposal of the federal government - funds, personnel and legitimacy. Finally, since travel in its new context has been pioneered by the young, they should be directly involved in the planning and operation of programmes.

It is therefore recommended:

that the mandate and resources currently employed at the federal level for the operation of the Young Voyageurs Programme be transferred to the operation and the terms of reference of the P2 programme as outlined in the conclusion of this Report.

Grants to Voluntary Agencies

Department Involved:
Secretary of State,
Travel and Exchange Division

Purpose of the Programme

Through the new programme of grants initiated in 1968, the federal government provides voluntary organizations with funds to help them develop their own travel and exchange activities. Like all federally-supported travel and exchange programmes, its purpose is: "to promote a better understanding of Canada and Canadians; to develop a sense of pride and belonging from coast to coast; and thus to enhance Canadian unity and identity."

How the Programme Works

Grants under the scheme are designed to cover part - but not all - of the travel costs incurred by exchange programmes sponsored by voluntary organizations. Eligible programmes include:
— tours and visits;
— summer employment schemes (work camps);
— educational exchanges;
— meetings;
— artistic and athletic events;
— experimental projects.

In 1970, 180 projects with 16,893 participants received $503,923 for national projects. A total of $110,645 went to 55 international projects which had 2,784 participants.[88]

The emphasis is on exchanges which involve young people. All projects must be interprovincial; they must include participants from more than one province, or send groups from one province to another. The scheme has also an international dimension insofar as agencies may apply for funds to help finance travel abroad. In order to qualify, each programme must provide for:
— participant orientation;
— participant involvement in planning and execution;
— significant person-to-person contact between participants within the group and between hosts and guests;
—furthering the understanding and knowledge of participants by introducing them to the political, social, and cultural realities of the area visited, and to its people, communities and institutions;
— organized assessment, i.e., a written report by participants, the planners, and the sponsoring organizations;
— post-travel activities which enable the participants to share their experiences with others.

The groups concerned must be efficiently operated and capable of assuring that the project will be competently managed. Grants are awarded to cover part of the travel costs and, at the discretion of the Department, part of the administrative costs if the organization is devoted solely to travel and exchange. The Grants Selection Committee of the Travel and Exchange Division rules on all applications. If a grant of more than $25,000 is involved, Treasury Board must also give approval.

Effectiveness of the Programme

As in the case of the Young Voyageurs, the principle behind the grants programme is excellent. It is particularly encouraging to see government supporting innovative projects initiated by voluntary groups. Recent changes in grant selection have been in the direction recommended in other sections of this Report and the Branch is to be commended on these new procedures. In order to fully understand these implications, it is necessary to provide a brief resumé of the way the programme previously worked.

There was a bias in favour of long established organizations which were adept at lobbying for federal funds:
— in 1968-69, five agencies received more than one grant (the Boy Scouts of Canada, the YMCA, the Canadian Council of Christians and Jews, the Canadian Union of Students, and the YWCA);
— more than half of all the participants who benefited did so through two organizations - Visites Interprovinciales and the Canadian Council of Christians and Jews;
— 11.5% of total funds went to a single group - the Boy Scouts.

However, the 1970 grants do not exhibit the same kind of duplication, nor do they show the bulk of the money going to a small number of groups. The Boy Scouts received only 2% of the total funds for 4% of the participants. Only the Boy Scouts and the Future Farmers of Canada received more than one grant.

This preponderance of established groups had also mitigated against the involvement of youth in developing programmes since these groups are organized along traditional lines of authority. Under the new allocations, many more organizations like ATTAC (Association to Tackle

88. *Travel and Exchange Voluntary Agencies.* Section 2. Secretary of State, 1970.

Adverse Conditions, Vancouver), which are organized by youth, have received grants.

In addition, the previous grants mainly supported projects based on traditional concepts of travel and exchange even though the regulations did permit grants to new types of exchanges - like work camps and study camps. The 1970 grants did provide money for several new projects; for example, students from Brock University received a grant to offer their voluntary services to Tunisian communities which suffered during the floods; 21 young farmers from Prince Edward Island received aid to spend three weeks sharing farm work in Scotland, England, France, and the Netherlands.

There also appears to be some attempt to overcome the middle-class student bias evident in previous grants. As an example, 25 young workers received a grant for an exchange. The Youth Emergency Lakeshore of Montreal was allocated money to take 93 young people from underprivileged homes to a provincial park for a week.

Although the Travel and Exchange Division is to be commended for this new direction, this is only a beginning to what needs to be a whole new approach. More emphasis must be placed on involving youth in their programmes, on supporting underprivileged groups, on allocating money to less traditional projects. In 1970, the greater part of the money was still devoted to traditional exchange projects for groups that would probably travel without federal support. The rule that applications must be made in advance means that *ad hoc* projects, devised to fill pressing needs, cannot qualify for funds.

10 Grants to Voluntary Agencies

Recommendation 10

Grants made to voluntary agencies should be viewed as more than the financial support for a specific activity. An increasing number of grants are being made to youth-run organizations for community-oriented activities. For such activities to realize their full potential, decisions as to allocation of grants and evaluation should be conducted first regionally, and then nationally.

Thus it is recommended:

that both the domestic and international aspects of the Grants to Voluntary Agencies Programmes be incorporated into the operations and the terms of reference of the P2 programme as outlined in the conclusion of this Report.

1970 Summer Hostel Programme

Departments Involved:
Secretary of State
and National Defence

Purpose of the Programme

On the 8th of July, 1970 the Secretary of State (SOS) announced that a crash programme was to be instituted to provide hostel accommodation for young people travelling in Canada for the summer period. It was stated at the time that the programme and its funds were for the summer of 1970 only and that this government action was not necessarily an indication of future policy.

How the Programme Worked

SOS was to spend $200,000 and would operate the programme directly through the Minister's office. The Department of National Defence (DND) would be involved in providing armouries throughout the country which were suitable for such use. Officials of the SOS and DND met to determine the availability of armouries and included in such discussions representatives of a non-governmental organization called the National Hostel Task Force (NHTF). These meetings resulted in plans for 14 armouries to be made available to the SOS for the summer of 1970. Approximately 125 young people (recruited by the NHTF, but under direct contract with SOS) were located within a few days to staff the hostels. The 14 armouries, capable of providing accommodation for an average of 125 males and females each, were opened very quickly with instructions to operate until approximately September 8. (The closing dates varied slightly from place to place depending on the availability of the facilities.) In addition to the armouries, there were limited funds made available to non-armoury private hostels where:

— an armoury was available, but an alternate need was demonstrated and there were people who could carry out the project;
— an armoury was present but not too suitable to handle the numbers in that location;
— community organizations had already arranged for facilities and had planned or started a programme in them, but needed funds to complete such arrangements.

All hostels supported entirely by this federal grant were free to users. Some hostels accepted unsolicited donations to be used for auxiliary services. In all, the pro-

gramme provided 150,000 bed-nights for young people at a total cost of $200,000.[89]

Effectiveness of the Programme

In fulfilling the short-term goal of utilizing armouries to provide hostel accommodation for transient youth, the programme can be regarded as an unqualified success.

Further, the hostels were operated relatively efficiently, safely, and inexpensively. There arose few instances of serious difficulty or violence. Most communities seemed appreciative of the service, while a few remained opposed in principle to hostels.

The programme's effectiveness was a product of the determination of top government officials and members of the Cabinet who were anxious to see the programme succeed, and were willing and able to cut red tape and move with the necessary speed. The direct involvement of the office of the Secretary of State was crucial. While this is admirable and was doubtless appreciated by the young people who were provided with facilities, it was a unique situation, and one that should not be counted upon in the future. Credit is also due to community organizations, hostel staffers and members of the Armed Forces who did a generally excellent job in co-operating with the local staffers in operating the hostels. In addition, the assistance of certain officials of the Department of National Health and Welfare should be cited. With the help of that Department many hostel committees were able to acquire Canada Assistance Plan money to subsidize the food and auxiliary operations.

In such a crash programme, lines of authority were inevitably blurred and operational responsibilities confused. It appeared that when the situation was critical enough, government structures could be made to move quickly and imaginatively - but the administrative problems encountered lead the Committee to be wary of similarly organized future programmes.

The programme was limited by the nature of the armouries and their adaptability for use as hostels. Although the armouries were an excellent solution for a one-summer crash project, they have limited use for long range plans. Most are without adequate washroom and shower facilities; some have been previously used as truck storage space, leaving oil on the cracked concrete floors which were to become sleeping quarters; the lighting and air circulation systems are not designed for occupancy; proximity to officers' mess halls and military supplies pose security problems; and availability of armouries is unpredictable.

The speed with which the project was planned, made public, and put into operation created problems of varying degrees in some communities. In Charlottetown the staffers (from New Brunswick) arrived to find that nobody, including the Base Commander, had been informed of the project. Consequently, their welcome was not as warm as it might otherwise have been. In Vancouver, the civic administration did not recognize the right of the federal government to impose a project with local ramifications upon the city. Being opposed to the project and the local representatives of the NHTF, the city originally refused to connect sewer and water facilities for the portable washroom and shower units rented by the hostel people. In Kingston, the community felt slighted (with some justification) about not being consulted in advance. Problems such as those which arose in Vancouver could have been avoided if the people had been aware of the legal opinion obtained by the SOS, that federal property, such as armouries, were exempt from local zoning regulations.

Finally, the effectiveness of this hostel programme was limited by its relationship with the NHTF. In order to understand the operation it is necessary to know something of the NHTF, the body used to recruit hostel staff, locate local sponsoring committees and co-ordinate information among the various hostels.

Aware of the rapid expansion of the number of transient youth, the Canadian Welfare Council (CWC), in the summer of 1969, by virtue of a grant from the Department of National Health and Welfare undertook a six-city study of transient youth. While its report made clear that the problems this group faced could not be studied in isolation from factors such as youth employment, educational opportunities, drug laws, and a general attitude of adult hostility towards non-conformist young people, it did produce a number of specific recommendations directly designed to benefit youth on the road. These included:

— the establishment of a network of hostels;
— the provision of first-aid and emergency health care;
— provision of communal feeding arrangements;
— support of existing drop-in centres.

89. Department of National Health and Welfare. *Report on Transient Youth* (mimeographed). Ottawa, 1971.

To discuss these recommendations, the Welfare Council, at the end of March, again through a grant from Health and Welfare, sponsored a "National Consultation" at Ste. Adèle, Quebec. Sixty delegates attended: these included representatives from welfare and voluntary organizations, church groups, directors of drop-in centres across the country, and 25 young people who themselves had been transients and so had first-hand knowledge of the situation.

The meeting strongly endorsed the proposal for a network of hostels. As a result, the NHTF was established on April 2, 1970, the final day of the Consultation. Its purpose was to lobby for funds to set up the hostels, to coordinate them and to act as a general clearing-house and advisory service for all matters relating to transient youth. It was instructed to lobby for hostels in the short term but to bear in mind the larger, long-term needs of transient youth.

In short order, the Task Force set to work. Through the Canadian Welfare Council, successful application was made for an operating grant of $23,000. Equally important, within three days of the Task Force's formation, National Health and Welfare officials indicated that they were strongly in favour of a flexible interpretation of the Canada Assistance Plan in relation to the youth hostels, and further indicated that they would see that provincial and municipal officials were made fully aware of this approach.

It was never clear just what the lines of communication or authority between the NHTF, SOS and Health and Welfare (as the funder of the Task Force, and the Consultation, but not the hostel programme) were to be - a situation which caused some embarrassment to all. Moreover, the NHTF staff, while having no direct responsibility for the summer operation, felt the weight of its two-pronged mandate. The Consultation could not foresee the SOS-DND Programme, and the NHTF was not really properly prepared to handle it, although under the circumstances, it made a remarkable contribution. It met the short-term goals, but recommended people and locations in terms of its perceptions of the long-term needs. In crash programming, the NHTF was crucial to SOS since it recruited 125 staff within a few days who would be responsive to both youth and community needs, and who would organize on trust and work two to three weeks without pay while red tape was being cut.

If we accept the premise that travel is a desirable and legitimate educational activity, then it makes necessary as a prerequisite a network of hostels.

11 1970 Summer Hostel Programme

Recommendation 11

It is thus recommended:

a) that a network of youth hostels be established with adequate provision for the development of additional services as required (e.g., medical and legal services);

b) that discussions be initiated with the Crown Assets Corporation, Department of National Defence and the Department of Public Works to investigate the possibilities of obtaining suitable facilties to augment local provision;

c) that the responsibility for developing an appropriate hostel programme be developed within the framework of P2 as outlined in the conclusion of this Report.

Youth Fares and Charter Flights

Agency Involved:
Canadian Transport Commission

Canadian airlines are regulated by the Canadian Transport Commission, which licenses carriers and establishes economic regulations within Canada; and the International Air Transport Association (IATA) which sets rates, fares, and passenger regulations for international flights.

Youth Fares

Within Canada, the Canadian Transport Commission has opened the doors to reduce fares for young people. These are available on the following bases:
— everyone between the ages of 12 and 21 is eligible;
— as of September 1, 1970, the fare is 60% of the regular economy seat price; seats are available only on standby, and are allocated on a "first-come, first-served" basis;
— reduced prices apply on the following carriers: Air Canada, Canadian Pacific, Transair, Nordair, Pacific Western, Quebecair, Eastern Provincial Airways; a youth-card issued by one carrier may be used on all carriers;
— reduced fares apply to flights in North America;
— youth fares do not apply to other international flights; such an arrangement would have to meet with IATA approval.

Youth fares benefit both young people and the airlines concerned. The fact that seats are available only on stand-by means that young people are not taking seats away from other passengers; instead they are filling seats which would otherwise remain empty. The fact that the fares apply to all youth under 21, not just to students, is equally commendable.

Charter Flights

Charter flight regulations are laid down by IATA agreement. Broadly speaking, these stipulate that, in order to qualify for a charter, individuals must be direct members of an organization which has a purpose other than travel, and must have belonged to that organization for at least six months previous to the flight. Within Canada, the Canadian Transport Commission is responsible for deciding which organizations meet these qualifications and are thus eligible for charter rights.

At present, there are in Canada three major organizations which arrange charter flights for young people between the ages of 15 and 25: Tourbec in Montreal, the Western Student Services Bureau, and Travel Bureau of the Association of Student Councils which operates out of Toronto. (The latter organization restricts its activities to post-secondary students who belong to student councils on their own campuses.)

However, these organizations have recently had difficulties in obtaining charter rights from the Transportation Commission. Questions about direct membership and about whether they exist for purposes other than travel have been raised. This is unfortunate because, in contrast to many other charter organizations whose "purpose other than travel" is primarily to make a profit, and which sometimes disappoint and even defraud their members, both Tourbec and the Student Councils operate on a non-profit basis. More importantly, Tourbec, the Student Councils Travel Bureau, and Western Student Services Bureau are providing an excellent service, particularly for the increasing number of young people who prefer to plan their own travel itineraries.

12 Youth Fares and Charter Flights

Recommendation 12

In regard to youth fares, it is recommended:

a) that the Canadian Transport Commission and Air Canada make strong representation to IATA to allow the extension of reduced fares to international flights.

In regard to charter flights, it is recommended:

b) that the Canadian Transport Commission continue to extend charter rights to Tourbec, the Western Student Services Bureau, and the Association of Student Councils Travel Bureau;

c) that the Student Councils Travel Bureau, like Tourbec, be permitted to extend its membership to all young people between the ages of 15 and 25;

d) that the Canadian Transport Commission, in co-operation with P2, initiate a feasibility study for the development of a national programme of travel subsidization, emphasis being given to the development of a national travel card which will automatically entitle each Canadian within a certain age category to a certain number of mileage and accommodation credits nationally and internationally.

Section IV - Community and Social Development

Introduction

The federal programmes described in this section are less easily categorized. Most federal youth programmes are related to social and community development in a general sense. But for the purposes of this discussion, the Committee has restricted itself to certain programmes of the Department of National Health and Welfare.

As laid down by the BNA Act, the administration of welfare is a provincial responsibility. By means of the Canada Assistance Plan, the federal government stands ready to pay half the cost of virtually all welfare programmes in Canada, although such programmes must be initiated by provinces and municipalities. As a result, welfare services are distributed unevenly across the country. This is particularly true in the case of programmes which relate to young people. In many cases, this reflects a clear decision on the part of provincial and municipal officials to confine welfare services to what they consider to be the "deserving poor" and not get involved in new and innovative areas.

To some degree, Ottawa has managed to get around this problem by initiating a special series of Welfare Demonstration Grants, through which new services can be pioneered and tested. A number of projects for young people have been funded, but the Demonstration Grants programme, as constituted at present, is limited.

Increasingly, many of the activities affecting youth are being perceived and classified as welfare issues. Extensive pressure is being directed towards federal and provincial departments of welfare and social development to make funds available for programmes related directly to youth. This is particularly the case with respect to drug problems and the associated range of services provided by either traditional social agencies, or by innovative groups.

Increased demands upon federal and provincial monies go beyond any simplistic demand for funds. Beneath such demands lies an articulate statement from both the traditional welfare organizations and the innovative services that the very nature of welfare services must change - that in fact the present definitions given to welfare must be altered, and that the relationships between such structures and government must be altered.

The changing focus of welfare concerns reflect a turmoil within the agencies and professions geared to supportive services. For example, the traditional concept of the social worker dealing primarily in case work is shifting to the broader spectrum of the community worker, and, in some instances, the community organizer.

Apart from destitute and orphaned children, welfare for young people has not been considered, even as a possibility, in our society. "Youth welfare" contravenes all traditional definitions of a possible welfare recipient. The issue here, however, is not so much the treatment of attitudes to the poor and the disadvantaged but services to middle-class youth, particularly in the area of drug abuse. In this situation workers in agencies are relating to (and in some cases treating) their own children. In such a situation, traditional concepts of treatment and case work are challenged. One can only applaud the work and services of such agencies as the Jewish Family and Child Service in Toronto, CRYPT in Winnipeg and other groups for their efforts to meet realistically and courageously the issues and concerns with which they are confronted.

The comments of the Committee concerning social and community policies on the federal level concern themselves with improvement of existing services and opportunities. The following analyses and recommendations are therefore marginal to the real concerns and changes required; a social policy for Canada which challenges the very societal assumptions of welfare services. This section briefly examines:

- the Canada Assistance Plan
- National Welfare Grants
- National Health Grants.

Canada Assistance Plan

Department Involved:
National Health and Welfare

Purpose of the Programme

The Canada Assistance Plan (CAP) came into effect on April 1, 1966. It replaced and augmented four separate federal-provincial shared-cost welfare programmes (Old Age Assistance, Blind Persons' Allowances, Disabled Persons' Allowances and Unemployment Assistance) and was designed to support "the broadening and improvement of provincial and municipal assistance programmes and to encourage the extension and development of welfare services."[90]

90. *Annual Report 1967-68*. Canada Assistance Plan. p. 1.

How the Programme Works

Under the Plan, contributions amounting to 50% of shareable costs are made towards provincial and municipal expenditures on welfare services. In other words, Ottawa is prepared to pick up half the cost of virtually any welfare programme that a province or a municipality initiates.

The scope of the Plan is so broad that it is easier to describe it in terms of what is excluded than of what is included. What it does not cover is the cost of basic care provided in hospitals, correctional institutions or institutions whose prime purpose is education.

Otherwise, "assistance" is defined as "any form of aid to or on behalf of persons in need, for the purpose of providing:
— basic requirements such as food, clothing and shelter;
— items necessary for the safety, well-being and rehabilitation of a person in need, such as special food or clothing, telephone, rehabilitation allowance;
— items necessary for a handicapped person;
— care in a specialized home (i.e. homes for the aged, nursing homes or welfare institutions for children);
— travel and transportation;
— funeral and burial expenses;
— health care services;
— welfare services purchased by or at the request of provincially approved agencies;
— comfort allowances for inmates of institutions."[91]

All provinces, except Quebec, have signed agreements under the Plan. (Quebec operates its own scheme, receiving compensation in the form of tax abatement.)

There is no ceiling on expenditure: in 1967-68, a total of $225.6 million was spent; by 1970-71, this figure had reached $389 million.[92]

Effectiveness of the Plan

By establishing the Canada Assistance Plan, the federal government has demonstrated its determination to improve the level of welfare services across the country. By making the Plan all-inclusive, it has indicated its intentions to extend benefits to everyone in need of them. These intentions have not so far been matched with comparable action. As the Minister responsible for the CAP, the Honourable John Munro noted, "as yet no province has taken full advantage of the Plan's provisions."[93]

There are many reasons for this. Some have to do with political philosophies of certain provincial governments which continue to believe that welfare is primarily an individual - not a collective - responsibility. Some of the poorer provinces, on the other hand, quite simply cannot afford to put the optimum amount of support into existing programmes, still less create new ones. Such provinces often complain that the initiative taken by the federal government in shared-cost welfare programmes has forced them to readjust their own priorities, and have indicated that until their own share of welfare costs is determined in proportion to what they can afford - and not by a straight 50% - they will be unable to implement fully CAP provisions.

The way is also clear for provincial abuse of the Plan. Now that the federal government is prepared to pay half the welfare costs, they can contribute less to certain programmes than before CAP came into operation. Certainly, this was not the intention of the Plan's proponents.

There are other, more specific trouble spots, eligibility requirements in particular. While the Plan itself contains no specific regulations which define need, some provinces and municipalities have saddled welfare programmes with means tests and employment requirements. As a result, the number of potential beneficiaries has been sharply reduced.

The *Globe and Mail* noted editorially some of this unfulfilled potential: "Ontario has not taken advantage of the Work Activity Programme provision which supplies 50% of the cost of schemes to help unemployed who don't have the basic educational background or fundamental skills to qualify for upgrading programmes offered by the Department of Manpower. Four provinces have used this provision for regular classes and for work activity projects which offer special counselling, and guidance programmes for people with mental or social limitations."

"Nor has Ontario chosen to extend day-care services to families that might not need other forms of welfare. Alberta, for example, has a preventive services programme designed to help people keep off welfare rolls. Under this jointly-financed scheme, a working mother has access to day-care services so that she can keep her job."[94]

More recently, the National Welfare Council - a 21-member body set up in January 1970 to advise the Department of National Health and Welfare - produced

91. *Health and Welfare Services in Canada.* National Health and Welfare. Ottawa, 1969, p. 77.
92. National Health and Welfare estimate, March 1971.
93. Speech to the University Women's Club. Scarborough, Ontario. June 1970.
94. *Globe and Mail.* Toronto. Thursday, June 4, 1970.

another set of criticisms. In a resolution forwarded to the government on October 7, the Council noted that some provinces and municipalities have adopted policies and practices which are clear violations of CAP principles. Though the resolution did not mention specific examples, a newspaper account of the resolution noted, among other things, that: "In British Columbia, where municipalities with a population of more than 25,000 share in the cost of welfare assistance, such cities as Victoria and Vancouver have cut off assistance to young unemployed men after three days. Assistance was cut off on the grounds that applicants, mostly from outside the province, had not complied with residence requirements."[95]

The Canada Assistance Plan guidelines make it quite clear that residency requirements are not to be applied.

It is in the area of services to youth that CAP is perhaps most seriously under-utilized. This seems to reflect a clear decision on the part of certain provincial and municipal officials not to develop innovative programmes for young people. Only in Alberta, for example, has the Plan been used to help develop a network of youth services, including drop-in centres and hostels. As a result, only in Alberta - though the situation is now in a state of flux - is there a relatively coherent system of youth services.

13 Canada Assistance Plan

Recommendation 13

Ideally, social development programmes for young people should not be classified as "welfare programmes". But, given present social and political exigencies, it is only sensible to use existing potentialities to the fullest. Thus, it is recommended:

a) that a national information programme be introduced to acquaint potential welfare recipients with their rights;

b) that the Department, through its Community Consultative Services programme continue to make every possible effort to encourage provincial and municipal authorities to take full advantage of the Canada Assistance Plan, particularly in terms of the potential it offers for programmes aimed at young people.

95. *Globe and Mail.* Thursday, October 8, 1970.

National Welfare Grants

Department Involved:
National Health and Welfare

Purpose of the Programme

To complement the Canada Assistance Plan, the Department of National Health and Welfare earmarks approximately $2.5 million annually for direct grants. Funds are made available for research, educational purposes (i.e., grants to schools of social work), and special projects like the Canadian Welfare Council's National Consultation on Travel and Exchange and its 1969 study of Transient Youth. The most interesting aspect of this programme is the scheme of Welfare Demonstration Grants, designed to encourage inventive approaches to the solution of social problems, and, equally important, to identify such problems.

How the Programme Works

Though the total budget for the Demonstration Programme is not easily separated from the over-all spending on Welfare Grants, its estimated cost is approximately $700,000 annually. Unlike the Canada Assistance Plan it is not a shared-cost programme. The rationale behind the federal government's providing the full amount is that projects supported by Demonstration Grants are experimental, and have potential national significance.

Ideally, officials believe, projects which receive Demonstration Grants should act as educational forces within their communities. As one of them explained, "the idea is to show people how to make the system work for them." Eligibility requirements are generally flexible: the only firm stipulation is that groups which apply must have some form of board of directors or council which can administer the projects and through which funds may be channelled. A detailed budget must be submitted. Once approved, Grants are available for a maximum of three years. Each project is evaluated annually and those which are not measuring up to the terms of their contract may be cut.

So far, the programme has concentrated on projects involving young people, e.g., Vancouver's Cool-Aid, Toronto's Digger-house and similar ventures in Montreal, Ottawa and Halifax. Support for these ranges from $20,000 to $48,000 annually. In addition, Demonstration Grants benefit a number of community associations, e.g., the Regent's Park Development Association in Toronto, and Nova Scotia's Black United Front. In this case, the level of funding runs from $20,000 to $80,000.

Effectiveness of the Programme

The Welfare Demonstration Grants Programme is sound in concept and administration. The officials responsible for it are enthusiastic and resourceful, and appear to go out of their way to encourage groups to apply for support. Perhaps most important is the fact that the programme puts participatory democracy into practice by encouraging citizens to get together to initiate and carry out new programmes in response to developing needs.

The main obstacle to the programme is constitutional. Under the BNA Act, administration of welfare services is a provincial responsibility. Thus Welfare Demonstration Grants may be applied only to experimental projects, and must have a built-in time limit. What happens to such projects when the three years expire? If they have proved successful, they may become eligible for funding under CAP, as has occurred, for example, with the Halifax Neighbourhood Centre and Winnipeg's Multi-Service Project (now the People's Opportunity Centre). Since CAP is a shared-cost programme, the best efforts of Health and Welfare officials to encourage provinces and municipalities to assume responsibility for continuing such projects cannot guarantee that provinces and municipalities will do so.

Moreover, the programme does not allow for nearly as many projects as are needed across the country. Grants have concentrated on projects in urban centres. However, considerable thought is currently being given to programming in rural areas. Implementation of projects in northern B.C. and northern Quebec is under way.

14 National Welfare Grants

Recommendation 14

It is thus recommended:

a) that the budget for Welfare Demonstration Grants be substantially increased so that more projects may be supported across the country;

b) that Health and Welfare officials continue to make every effort possible to ensure that Welfare Demonstration projects, if they have proven successful, be maintained under CAP;

c) that in order to make provincial and municipal officials, as well as voluntary and social agencies, fully aware of the value of the Welfare Demonstration Grants and of the projects they support, brochures and audio-visual presentations be prepared and given the widest possible distribution.

National Health Grants

Department Involved:
National Health and Welfare

Purpose of the Programme

Grants made under this programme complement to some degree Welfare Demonstration Grants. The purpose is similar: to encourage research and experimental projects which employ new techniques. As in the case of Welfare Demonstration Grants, it is not a shared-cost programme. These Grants are also confined to three years and reviewed annually during that period.

How the Programme Works

Three types of activity qualify for Grants: demonstration projects, research projects, and training projects. So far, the heaviest emphasis has been on research. Out of the total 1969-70 budget of $1 million, $797,000 was allotted to this area, while only $56,602 was provided for training projects. The Department spent $208,217 on such demonstration projects as a community health centre linked to Memorial University of Newfoundland ($15,000), the Pointe-St.-Charles Community Health Centre connected with McGill University and the Montreal Student Health Centre ($14,790), and the Alcoholism and Drug Addiction Research Foundation ($98,326).

Effectiveness of the Programme

The programme tends to be overly-cautious in its selection of projects, thereby ruling out many valuable services. Truly innovative health services - street clinics run by young people for young people - have slight chance of qualifying. Toronto's SHOUT and Montreal's CLINIC, to name two, were turned down. Perhaps because officials are anxious not to fund programmes which might run counter to provincial health services, or might run the risk of being accused of practising without a license, the over-all approach has been conservative.

By reserving its Grants only for projects connected with university medical faculties, the programme is not really fulfilling its mandate to experiment with new techniques. Nor does information about the programme appear to be very readily available.

15 National Health Grants

Recommendation 15

It is thus recommended:

a) that the budget for Health Demonstration Grants be substantially increased;

b) that, in administering this programme, officials make a particular effort to ensure that wherever possible, funds are made available to "street" clinics and innovative para-medical services;

c) that full information about the programme be made freely available to all potential clients.

Section v - Recreation

Introduction

Chapters IV and V on the voluntary youth organizations and provincial programmes described how these organizations are attempting to meet the recreational needs of young people. Until a few years ago, recreation was equated with structured sports and crafts activities designed to occupy youth's out-of-school or off-work hours.

While such programmes retain an appeal for many young people, others are looking for opportunities to spend their leisure time in a much broader and less structured range of activities. In the last few years, some voluntary organizations and provincial programmes have responded to this shift, from "recreation" to "leisure", by providing such facilities as drop-in centres where youth create and operate their own activities (or non-activities).

Similarly, the federal government is gradually recognizing this shift of emphasis, through support of organizations providing this new type of activity. In a more direct way, the federal government continues to support various structured recreation programmes through, for example, the Fitness and Amateur Sport Directorate. While such programmes will continue to play a valuable role, provision must be made for greater participation of young people in their planning and operating.

The majority of recreational programmes are conducted by provincial and municipal governments. Therefore, although federal programming in this area should not necessarily be a "follower", it must rely heavily on continual consultation at all levels.

Junior Activities Grants were studied but are not included here. This section examines:

—the activities of the Fitness and Amateur Sport Directorate within the Department of National Health and Welfare;

— the military cadet movements supported by the Department of National Defence;

— and the series of grants to 4-H clubs distributed by the Department of Agriculture.

Fitness and Amateur Sport Programme

Department Involved:
National Health and Welfare

Purposes of the Programme

A total of 22 federal departments and agencies spend approximately $25 million annually on recreational and sports activities.[96] These range from sports and recreational facilities provided in national parks by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, the Department of Regional Economic Expansion, and the National Capital Commission, to the Department of Industry Trade and Commerce's programme for expanding the domestic production and international sale of recreational and sporting equipment. Primary responsibility for encouraging amateur sport and physical fitness is vested in two bodies: the National Advisory Council on Fitness and Amateur Sport, a 30-member group which meets three times annually to advise the Minister of National Health and Welfare on sport and fitness policy; and the Fitness and Amateur Sport Directorate which generally administers the Council's policy, acts as a grant-giving agency, and undertakes a certain amount of direct programming on its own. The Directorate was established in 1962, and has a staff of 21. The annual administrative budget of the Directorate is approximately $250,000.

The Directorate's activities fall into three categories: grants; special projects; and direct programming.

Grants

Most of the Directorate's effort is directed towards the giving of grants; $5 million annually is set aside for this purpose, but the full amount has never been spent. In 1968-69, for example, total grants amounted to $3,780,393.

From 1962-63 until 1968-69, under a federal-provincial cost-sharing agreement, approximately $1 million was earmarked annually for grants to the provinces. These were directed towards the cost of operating provincial programmes of recreation, amateur sports and leadership training. The federal government paid 60% of the cost of approved projects, and the balance was paid by the provinces. Each province received a basic $35,000, and the balance was distributed on a per capita basis. In addition, in 1968-69 supplementary grants were made to five provinces (Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, Ontario and Alberta) bringing the over-all total to $1,093,480. The last federal-provincial agreement, however, expired early in 1970.

Nevertheless, grants within other categories continue to be made under this programme. Scholarships, bursaries and fellowships are available to physical education students at the graduate and post-graduate level. In 1968-69, 130 post-graduate students received a total of $231,988. Selection is made by a Scholarship Committee made up of representatives from the National Advisory Council, University Physical Education Faculties, the Directorate, and the provinces. In addition, undergraduates received 787 awards (734 bursaries and 53 scholarships) for a total of $165,264. Selection is made at the provincial level.

In 1968-69, research grants totalling $195,637 were made to assist 20 research projects into problems relating to fitness and sport. In addition, as part of the federal-provincial agreement, $120,031 went towards the operating cost of three research units at the Universities of Alberta, Toronto and Montreal. A committee composed of Canadian scientists with a chairman from the National Advisory Council reviews all applications.

Grants to national sports governing bodies and national agencies totalled $1,415,248 in 1968-69. This figure includes a $200,000 grant to the Canadian Amateur Hockey Association towards the financing of a national hockey team. (Subsequently, responsibility for the national team was transferred to Hockey Canada, an independent organization). It includes also $103,485 to the Canadian Olympic Association ($30,000 for administration and $73,485 to cover costs of transporting Canadian athletes to Mexico City for the 1968 Olympics). These grants are designed to help national organizations develop programmes, improve quality of coaches and players, and strengthen administrative structures. Grants are available in the following areas:

—national championships; in 1968-69, 35 national bodies received $265,807 to stage championship events in 43 sport fields;
— international meets; in 1968-69, a total of $175,941;
— special programmes and events; in 1968-69, a total of $39,017;
— leadership training; in 1968-69 a total of $574,592 among 32 sports and 13 national programmes;
— administration; in 1968-69, a total of $161,574.

Most recent plans call for the establishment of a national sports administration centre in Ottawa; 26 sports-governing bodies would receive executive travel grants, free

96. Ross. P.S. and Partners. *Report on Physical Recreation, Fitness and Amateur Sport in Canada*. Ottawa, November 1969.

secretarial help and office supplies, and a $12,000 grant towards the cost of hiring executive directors.

Special Projects

The most significant grant recently made in this category went to help finance the first biennial Canadian Summer Games, held in Halifax and Dartmouth in June 1969. These Games have been created to stimulate construction of adequate sports facilities and to expand the opportunities for national competition. Under an agreement between the federal government, the government of Nova Scotia, and the municipal governments of Halifax and Dartmouth, Ottawa agreed to provide up to $838,000 towards the operating costs of the Games; Halifax and Dartmouth contributed an additional $300,000.

Smaller special-project grants included $25,000 towards an experimental programme designed to encourage Indian and Eskimo participation in cross-country skiing, and $25,500 towards an instructional programme for swimming and water safety in the Northwest Territories. Similar projects in the provinces were covered under the terms of the federal-provincial cost-sharing agreement.

Direct Programmes

Direct programming is a relatively marginal activity for the Directorate. In 1970-71, less than $200,000 was allotted in this area.

Cross Country Sports Demonstration Project is a programme designed to encourage young people to participate in sports programmes and to underline the importance of being physically fit. A group of five athletes, together with a consultant from the Directorate, travels across Canada by van, putting on demonstrations at approximately 250 secondary and elementary schools annually. The performance consists of a movie, a demonstration, and a clinic for certain selected students. In 1969-70, the budget was $156,500; for 1970-71, $59,000 has been allocated.

A programme of National Fitness Incentive Awards was announced in September 1970. Young Canadians between the ages of 7 and 17 will be eligible for awards after having taken various sports and fitness tests. As originally envisaged, the scheme was to have included individuals up to age 40, but it was eventually decided that such a programme would have little appeal to adults. The Canadian Olympic Association will co-operate in developing the programme; for 1970-71, $110,000 has been allotted.

The Information Service of the Directorate is responsible for Information and Education Materials. This involves primarily the dissemination of information about fitness and amateur sport through press releases, displays, sports calendars, radio and television advertisements, films and filmstrips. In addition, the Canadian Documentation Centre - a combined archives and library - attached to the Directorate is prepared to provide reference services across the country. Funds for both the information and reference services are allocated out of general administrative budget. Present plans call for a stepped-up information programme under the name Sports Canada Communications.

Through the Directorate's consultant services, consultants on the staff of, or on contract to, the Directorate provide advice and support to approximately 70 national organizations which conduct federally-supported programmes. Again, funds for these services come out of the general administrative budget.

Effectiveness of these Programmes

Between 1962 and 1970, the main weakness of the federal government's policy on amateur sport and physical fitness was that it was trying to solve two separate problems at once with limited resources. It was attempting to work towards the development of sporting and recreational facilities for the public as a whole and, at the same time, to promote and develop amateur sport. As a result of the conflict between these two goals, both programmes suffered.

In March 1970, with the publication of the White Paper, A Proposed Sports Policy for Canadians, based on the reports of three major task forces,[97] the government moved to resolve the problem - at least temporarily. As outlined in the White Paper, the Fitness and Amateur Sport programme will concentrate in the future upon improving the opportunities for young Canadians who seek to develop their abilities in competitive sport. This decision has been taken apparently because competitive sport, particularly as it relates to Canada's performance in international competition, is more politically sensitive than general fitness, and because the problems of developing competitive sport are more manageable.

In general this decision is a reasonable one. Building a supportive infra-structure for amateur sport in Canada - challenging as it is - is infinitely more feasible than building the base which would permit and encourage active participation in physical recreation by the general population. The numbers that could be involved in amateur sport are much smaller and therefore the resources required for

97. *Report of the National Advisory Council Committee to Study Round-Table Proposals to Improve the Programme.* (L'Heureux Report); *Report of the Task Force on Sports for Canadians.* (Rea Report); *Report on Physical Recreation, Fitness and Amateur Sports in Canada,* (P.S. Ross Report).

the necessary facilities, coaches, and administrators, would be substantially less.[98] Equally important, although the direct side-effects may be negligible, is that a viable competitive sports programme should be created to stimulate a body of knowledge and a corps of trained coaches and leaders for the subsequent development of programmes of mass physical recreation. Lastly, the government's decisive nod in favour of competitive sport is a sound move insofar as this type of programme can provide more opportunities for the young person to develop his abilities and interests to the full than can a more activity-oriented mass recreation programme.

Although its general intention is admirable, the White Paper contains a number of internal contradictions. While all the new programme directives in the policy paper indicate increased support for competitive sport, the introduction waxes eloquent about the needs for general fitness. In other words, the government has been less than frank about its decision to concentrate on competitive sport. Instead of attempting to satisfy the public demand for mass programmes of physical recreation by the rhetoric of mass participation, the federal government should publicly admit that both needs cannot be met in a single programme and initiate a separate but related programme for mass fitness.

There are two reasons why the need for programmes of mass fitness can no longer remain simply a topic of conversation. Firstly, competitive excellence will never attract more than a small percentage of Canadian young people as participants. Studies of leisure-time learning activities of adults in both Canada and the United States indicate that only a fraction of any population sample will ever be interested in strictly goal-oriented activities. Many of the young people whom the Committee interviewed reinforced this finding. To many of them, the idea of a strictly goal-oriented fitness programme is anathema. In fact, some of the most vehement spokesmen for the anti-competitive sports position were the most enthusiastic advocates of the virtues of recreational sports and fitness. If our recreation resources are to be equitably distributed, a fitness programme must provide for non-competitors.

There is also a financial cost to be paid for the continued neglect of general fitness. According to one estimate, the total cost of poor fitness - calculated by the incidence of cardio-vascular disease resulting from poor fitness - is $1.7 billion a year.[99] An Olympic Championship does not make a nation fit.

How can the government take the first steps towards implementing a separate programme for general fitness? One answer might be to renew federal-provincial cost-sharing agreements relating to fitness and recreation. Early in 1970, the last such agreement expired, and while the Directorate has offered to pay the provinces half their previous grants for the phase-out year, no effort is being made to renew the agreement. The ostensible reason offered by the federal government for the lapse is that most provinces are now strong enough to maintain their own programmes. A more likely reason is that most of the funds expended under the agreement went towards general fitness support which Ottawa wanted to phase out.

Whatever the reason, there are tremendous regional disparities in the resources available for sports, and the federal-provincial agreement should be renewed in an effort to reduce these differences. Although former grants were calculated on the basis of population, new grants should be calculated on the basis of need, using such criteria as a national average of the per capita public expenditure on sport, or some population-weighted index of resources available for amateur sport.

A second step towards the establishment of a mass participation programme might be the development of additional recreational land. Public ownership of vacation land would increase public opportunities for recreation and sports such as swimming, sailing, fishing, and water-skiing. At the same time, it would allow tighter control of excessive air, water, and noise pollution.

The final point in this analysis relates to the field of competitive sport. It has become increasingly evident recently that athletes are demanding - quite properly - participation in the decisions that shape Canadian support in this area. While the White Paper recognizes the necessity for athlete's participation in decision-making, it makes no concrete proposals. It is suggested, therefore, that a national athlete's advisory council be established with its own independent secretariat and its own research funds to advise the Director on policy.

98. In his book, *Endurance Fitness*, Dr. Roy Shepherd of the University of Toronto has estimated the capital costs of providing facilities for the simultaneous exercise of a population of 2.4 million (Metropolitan Toronto) at $28 billion. Capital costs for even the most elaborate competitive facilities for a city of that size, such as those necessitated by the Olympic Games, rarely exceed $0.5 billion.

99. Shepherd, *op. cit.* pp. 189-194.

16 Fitness and Amateur Sport Programme

Recommendation 16

It is thus recommended:

a) that the federal government continue its efforts to concentrate the present Fitness and Amateur Sport Programme on the needs of competitive sport;

b) that, as soon as it is feasible, the federal government initiate a second programme to develop opportunities for non-competitive physical recreation for the Canadian public;

c) that federal-provincial agreements be renewed and renegotiated to overcome existing regional disparities in the resources available for amateur sport;

d) that the federal government purchase and develop summer recreation land for public use;

e) that a national athlete's advisory council be established;

f) that, in view of the need for more extensive involvement in physical recreation, the federal government seriously consider the usefulness and the financial feasibility of establishing a permanent annual basis for Summer and Winter Games to operate in such a way:
i) that they be designed in co-operation with specialists in the various fields;
ii) that they retain the dimension of national competition;
iii) that, in order to increase the number of participants at the local levels and to stimulate interest and enthusiasm for physical recreation, the first level of competition occur at the local level;
iv) that local bodies be accorded sufficient funds for the development and training of local talent in order that they may participate adequately at a wider level of competition.

Grants to 4-H Clubs

Department Involved:
Agriculture

Introduction

Approximately 75,000 young Canadians between the ages of 12 and 21 in rural communities across the country belong to 4-H Clubs. In 1968, there were 5,831 individual groups. Through a programme of grants administered by the Department of Agriculture, the federal government underwrites about one-third of the cost of all Club expenditures.

Clubs are co-ordinated nationally by the Canadian Council of 4-H Clubs, comprised of 65 members including a representative from each province, a representative of the federal Department of Agriculture, 14 associate members representing agricultural associations, and 40 businessmen who represent large agriculturally-oriented companies and so pay $700 for their seat. Most policy decisions originate from the Council's Executive Committee, of which the federal representative is a member. Neither the Council nor the Executive Committee includes any representatives of local 4-H Clubs, or of district or regional councils. In other words, neither body has any youth representation.

In November 1969, the Council established a fund-raising body - the Canadian 4-H Foundation. They plan to raise $1 million in order to provide a continuous additional source of revenue. However the Clubs will continue to look to federal and provincial governments for basic support.

How Federal Funds are Made Available

In 1968-69, the federal government contributed a total of $349,515 towards 4-H operations and programming. The bulk of this - approximately $237,000 - was made available through two federal shared-cost programmes: $214,000 went towards general Club activities,[100] and $23,000 went directly to the 4-H Club Council - a grant which matched provincial contributions made to that body.

Under its programme of grants to exhibitions, the federal government in 1968-69 provided $112,515 for Junior Activities at spring and winter fairs and class A and B ex-

100. According to provincial public accounts and estimates for 1968-69, six provinces contributed an additional $127,110 towards general Club activities. These figures, however, cannot be considered accurate: most provinces do not provide detailed budget break-downs, and four provinces - Manitoba, Quebec, New Brunswick and Newfoundland - provide no relevant figures whatsoever.

hibitions. During that year, 29,500 young people under 25 took part in Junior Activities at 132 fairs and exhibitions across the country. Federal funds in this area are not confined to 4-H members exclusively, but are intended to aid any young person who wants to exhibit. Federal support to junior programmes at fairs and exhibitions amounts to less than 10% of the total grants made available to such activities.

Effectiveness of the Programme Grants

There is no question that 4-H Clubs constitute valid and valuable programmes for rural youth. Government does little enough to foster activities for young people in rural areas. However, the amount of federal support is not sufficient to ensure that Clubs fulfil their potential in all regions of the country, and 4-H Club members themselves are not being given a voice in setting general Club policy.

The Department of Agriculture is currently re-evaluating its responsibilities under the federal-provincial cost-sharing agreement. Broadly speaking, the Department has decided to base its future contributions on the payments which provinces themselves have made over the past two years. Federal contributions for 1970-71 will be in the order of $180,000.

In the long run, the new policy may have the intended result of encouraging some provinces to step up their own payments under the plan, but it does little to overcome regional disparity. Federal-provincial shared-cost programmes almost inevitably benefit richer provinces: this is particularly true in the case of 4-H Clubs. The majority of rural young people live in provinces which can afford to fund few programmes for them. Clearly, the new arrangement works to the disadvantage of the bulk of rural 4-H Club members. It is evident that federal contributions should be assessed on the basis of need, rather than on the level of provincial support.

As noted earlier, it is disturbing to find that rank-and-file members, and even regional and district councils have so little to say in setting Club policy. This is the case at both federal and provincial levels as well as within the 4-H Club Council itself. The only exception is the National Conference held in Ottawa and Toronto each year, which is attended by 140 young members. But even here, delegates to the conference are chosen by provincial officials rather than by Club members themselves.

17 Grants to 4-H Clubs

Recommendation 17

It is thus recommended:

a) that the federal government continue its support of Canadian 4-H Clubs and that such support continue to be made available through the Department of Agriculture;

b) that the federal government should not establish a programme of statutory grants to the 4-H, but that such organizations should submit a request for funding preferably on a three-year basis with an annual review; such requests must indicate participation by members in policy formulation;

c) that, in determining the federal share of shared-cost assistance to 4-H Clubs, the federal government set as a priority the need to overcome regional disparities in programmes designed for young people;

d) that, as the single largest contributor to 4-H operations, the federal government make every effort to ensure that 4-H Club members themselves are given a voice in policy-making at the federal and provincial levels, and are given a proportion of seats on the National Council, on the Executive Committee, and on the Board of Trustees of the Canadian 4-H Foundation.

Cadet Programmes

Department Involved:
National Defence

Purpose of the Programmes

The Department of National Defence continues to support separate air, army and sea cadet programmes. These organizations are comprised of boys between the ages of 13 and 18; currently there are approximately 93,000 members across Canada and on bases overseas, plus 6,000 instructors. Their aims are to develop good citizenship and leadership qualities, to promote physical fitness, and to stimulate interest in the Canadian Armed Forces. Though Defence officials would like to see the cadet groups unified, they have not advocated this because the movements are sponsored, at least technically, by independent organizations.

How the Programme Works

Army cadets account for approximately 53,000 or 60% of the total enrolment. They are often organized in high-school cadet units; each school offering the programme receives $3.00 per cadet annually. Some schools make participation mandatory. The army cadets are sponsored by militia units, regular forces, service clubs or school boards. The sea and air cadets are sponsored, promoted and recruited by two civilian non-profit organizations the Navy League and the Air Cadet League.

Cadets in all groups meet with their instructors about once a week during the school year. During the summer, cadet camps are set up at Armed Forces bases. In 1969, about 19,000 cadets chose to participate in the summer programme; most spent two weeks, although a smaller proportion undertook a six-week period of technical training. Those in the latter group each received a $100 trades and training bonus made payable to the cadet's mother.[101]

Master cadets can participate in more glamorous summer programmes involving international travel and exchange. In 1969 for example, 94 army cadets travelled to eight Caribbean countries while the same number of Caribbean cadets visited Canada. Moreover, the best 16 marksmen were sent to Britain to take part in a rifle meet, while 12 Canadian cadets went to the Outward Bound School in Wales.

The Navy League sponsors a reciprocal exchange of 100 cadets with the U.S. navy. Canadian cadets are billetted on U.S. ships at sea for two weeks. In addition, 10 cadets and an instructor are sent each summer to Britain for training with the Navy League of Great Britain. As the result of an agreement between DND and the Department of Transport, sea cadets may be trained on Canadian ships.

The Air Cadet League subscribes to an international exchange programme which involves 61 Canadian cadets: half of these go to the United Kingdom, and the remainder to other NATO countries. In addition, approximately 1,600 cadets take part each summer in an interprovincial exchange: for example, anglophone air cadets go to a summer camp at Bagotville, Quebec, and francophone cadets go to three camps across Canada.

Cost of the Programme

Although the cadet programmes are sponsored by independent organizations and conduct their own fundraising, the federal government provides an enormous amount of financial support, both direct and indirect.

In 1968-69 approximately $7.5 million was provided to support the three groups through pay and allowances for reserve officers and civilian instructors, travel expenses for cadets taking part in summer programmes, cadet training bonuses, and the per capita allowance paid to sponsoring bodies. Defence officials admit that as a result of hidden costs such as food and housing, actual expenditure might run to twice that figure. Another $1.6 million was earmarked for administrative costs, including the salaries of 13 staff, the Directorate of Cadets at DND Headquarters in Ottawa and the Cadet Liaison staff at bases across Canada. Beyond this, DND provides $50,000 annually to the Air Cadet League, $50,000 to the Navy Cadet League, and $2,000 to the Cadet Services of Canada Association (army cadets) for administrative purposes.

Effectiveness of the Programme

As it exists, the cadet movement is a cross between the Boy Scouts and an Armed Forces recruiting programme. In neither case does it justify the expenditure of at least $10 million annually. Scouting organizations should be administered and programmed by independent groups, not by the federal government, and certainly not by the

101. After successfully completing the first two weeks of the course, the cadet receives an initial payment not exceeding $20; subject to approval by the Region Commander, an additional payment not exceeding $20 is made at the end of the fourth week; the balance is paid upon completion of the programme.

Defence Department. Recruiting programmes should be defined and administered as such, rather than disguised as scouting programmes.

—Officials report that in rural areas, interest in these units remains unchanged, but that in urban centres it is declining.

—Youth across the country expressed strong opposition to militarism generally and to the many instances of informal coercion exercised by certain school administrators.

—It is questionable therefore whether the federal government should subsidize yet another form of activity to which young people are hostile.

In funding the cadet movement so heavily, the federal government is giving disproportionate support to an activity which is philosophically questionable. It would appear that the movement is being supported primarily because it exists and has existed for a long time.

In certain areas of the country where activities for young people are very scarce, cadet programmes continue to fulfil a role. Even so, that role is becoming increasingly less important; in 1970, when, as part of the emergency summer employment programme, an extra 500 places were made available for paid cadets, only an additional 235 enrolled.[102] At the same time, an estimated 15,000 young Canadians were taking part in non-cadet emergency employment programmes at Armed Forces bases.

102. *Globe and Mail.* August 3, 1970.

18 Cadet Programmes

Recommendation 18

The cadet programmes have become anachronisms. In 1970, it is imperative that the government re-think its philosophy toward recreational and social programming for young people, and develop programmes which reflect the needs of the youth today. It is recommended:

a) that federal funding of the cadet movements cease;

b) that such funds be diverted to alternate youth activities within P2, the new programme which is discussed in full in the final chapter of this Report.

Section VI - Arts and Cultural Affairs

Introduction

Since 1964, all federal cultural activities fall under the general jurisdiction of the Department of the Secretary of State: the individual agencies operate more or less autonomously. Each of them undertakes a certain amount of programming which involves young people. The National Gallery for example, arranges tours for elementary and high school students and provides schools with educational slides and brochures. The National Film Board produces films for and about young people, and through its seminal "Challenge for Change" programme, has involved young people directly in the film-making process; for example, six young Indians were trained in film-making techniques, and then set out to make their own films depicting Indian problems and attitudes. The National Arts Centre also has a youth programme designed to develop future audiences and to introduce Canadian youth to the arts so that they will come to consider them an integral part of their lives and not, as is so often the case, a frill. Among other things, this programme involves sending dance, music, opera, and film into the schools within the region, and arranges for groups of students to attend performances at the Centre itself. As a matter of course, standby tickets are available to students at special rates for most performances.

The agency, however, most directly involved in programming for young people is the Canada Council.

The Canada Council

Purposes of the Programme

The Canada Council was established in 1957 to "foster and promote the study, enjoyment and production of works in the arts, humanities and social sciences." This is achieved primarily through a number of programmes of fellowships and grants.

How the Programme Works

The Council, as an independent agency, is entirely responsible for setting its own policies and making its own decisions. It is composed of 21 members from across the country appointed for a term of three years with the Chairman and Vice-Chairman appointed for five years. Policies are executed by a permanent staff in Ottawa.

The Council's forecasted expenditure for 1970-71 was $31.7 million, the bulk of which is provided through

an annual parliamentary grant. The second source of income is the interest collected on the $50 million endowment fund provided by the government in 1957. The Council's third source of income is from private donations.

The Council operates in both the artistic and academic fields. About twice as much money is spent on humanities and social sciences as on the arts; in 1968-69, $17.3 million as against $9.4 million. The Council's academic pursuits however fall under the category of aid to research.

The Arts Programme

Funds earmarked for the arts are divided evenly between grants to individual artists and grants to arts organizations such as symphonies, ballet companies, theatres, and others. Many of the arts organizations which cater directly to young people depend on the Council for survival: in 1969-70, for example, the National Youth Orchestra received $24,000; the National Theatre School, $291,000; the National Ballet School, $103,000; and *Les Jeunesses Musicales,* $120,000.

In terms of grants to individuals, young people benefit primarily through the Arts Bursaries Programme, designed to "provide promising young artists with funds to finance free work and study for 8-21 months". In 1969-70, more than half of these awards - approximately 120 - went to people under 25. All applications for arts bursaries are screened by the Arts Advisory Panel - an 18-member group composed of artists, musicians, writers, and critics. The bursaries are worth up to $3,500.

There is also a more flexible programme of short-term grants designed to benefit individuals who need funds for an immediate purpose, or who do not qualify for the regular bursary programme. For example, a young painter who cannot afford paint and canvas may apply for money to buy them; a writer may apply for a travel grant to attend a conference. The Council bases its decision on the validity of each request and does not follow any rigid rules.

Though the Council exists primarily as a grant-giving body, it undertakes a certain amount of supportive programming on its own. Some of these programmes relate directly to young people. For example, The Theatre Arts Development Programme, until it had to be curtailed in 1970 because of austerity, made funds available to certain theatres to enable them to hire technical apprentices, apprentice press officers, and apprentice front-house personnel. Each year, a visual arts jury team made up of one Council officer and three practising Canadian artists travels the country from coast to coast, visiting the studios and sifting through the work, not only of artists who have made application for Council grants, but of every local artist who has been brought to their attention. In this way, a number of young artists have been given their first public recognition.

Effectiveness of these Programmes

The Canada Council has been described by Canadians prominent in the arts as a "model bureaucracy",[103] and as "the most dynamic and sensitive subsidizing body, public or private, on the continent."[104]

The Council's success flows directly from the fact that from the beginning, its modus operandi has been to "ask the artists what they want" and to set its policies accordingly. In other words, the people affected by the programmes are given a direct say in shaping them. This is achieved through frequent informal meetings between Council officers and groups of artists. As a result of these "soundings", as the Council terms them, policies are flexible and decisions are made on the basis of merit, not on a code of regulations. Information about Council programmes is generally widely available, and the Annual Report goes to considerable pains not only to indicate the details of spending but also to explain the reasons for the expenditure and to suggest the probable future trends of artistic development throughout the country. Council officers appear to be unusually sympathetic and helpful to their clientele.

For all these reasons, many other agencies and departments might benefit from studying the Council's methods of operation. In the light of government's obvious reluctance to delegate public responsibilities and funds to independent or quasi-independent bodies, the Council is an excellent example of a successful experiment.

However, there is evidence that the Canada Council, provided additional funds, might do even more. Since its founding, it has been primarily oriented towards the artist, not towards the public. At the same time, the Council has concentrated on supporting traditional art forms - theatre, ballet, music, and so on.

The time has come for the Council to expand its activities in two directions: to provide increased support to the experimental and innovative areas of artistic expression, including "pop culture"; and to turn its approach outward so as to encourage emergent as well as well-established artists. Since the new areas of the arts are primarily the preserve of young people, it becomes important to make certain that a proportion of the members of the Arts Advisory Panel, which screens applications for Council grants, are young people, and that at least one or two members of the Council itself are representatives of the youth population.

103. Critic and editor Robert Fulford.
104. Theatre director John Hirsch.

19 The Canada Council

Recommendation 19

It is thus recommended:

a) that the Canada Council expand its present programme to include new emphasis on innovative and experimental cultural and artistic programming for young people;

b) that in doing so, the Council take into account the needs of young people who are not themselves artists, but who nonetheless may benefit from certain kinds of artistic programming;

c) that the Council be provided with the necessary funds to make expansion possible; even in a period of general government austerity, cultural and artistic programming contribute so greatly to national unity and national identity that it deserves priority treatment.

Chapter VIII
Optic 70's

Introduction

The following chapter contains recommendations of the Committtee on Youth to the federal government; they reflect the broader conclusions of the Committee.

The first section of this Report described the situations and perceptions of young persons in this country - their changing attitudes and their criticisms of the existing order. Chapter II of that section concluded with a list of youth needs and demands which must be scrutinized by governments involved in youth programming. The second section described present attempts to deal with this segment of the population. While much action in this area is valuable, the large majority of institutional "responses" are missing the mark. Youth for the most part do not want to be catered to, or programmed for, or viewed as a reservoir of idealism which should be channelled; rather, they want to have a direct and active part in creating a more humane society.

But in an age of increasing rhetoric about the ability of each individual to control his own destiny, it should come as no surprise that youth desire just that. They also want to carry this principle to its logical conclusion by shaping those institutions with which they must deal. If these citizens are to become active members of society, they must do so on their own terms.

Major "bridging operations" and efforts by all institutions and individuals to evolve new forms of responsibility and authority will be necessary. The main thrust of such innovations must be to redefine authority in light of the emerging need to share political responsibility.

Recommendations in Chapter VII suggested ways existing federal programmes might begin to work towards such goals (See Recommendations 1 to 19). This final chapter examines the over-all approach the federal government should take in responding to and initiating policy to answer the new demands of youth. These fall into four subject areas: employment, education, law and justice, and social development.

Few questions affect generational relationships as much as employment. As a result, the issues raised about employment require both understanding and action by the federal government. More so than in the past, society's traditional concepts of work are coming under fire. At the same time, the unemployed - whether by chance or choice - are still objects of subtle denigration.

For the young, this conflict is more intense. Many young Canadians who wish to work - albeit, in a variety of ways - cannot do so. The inability of our economic system to provide a job for every young Canadian is a question not easily avoided, even by those who claim all who want to work can do so. The evidence is too overwhelming to deny the reality of a number of years of unemployment for many Canadians, particularly in the younger age-brackets. And for a significant number, there is no alternative to a life-time of unemployment and marginal employment.

Simultaneously, new imperatives are emerging which question the very meaning of work. Is it for society? The money? The boss? Or the individual himself? Increasingly, the last perspective is acquiring legitimacy - a pointed challenge to societal demands and presumptions about work. Ultimately, such a view leads to the reassessment and redefinition of the individual's role within society. And, in a very real sense, such a question lies at the very root of the debate. The dimensions of the debate point to the need for federal programming. Its content points to the premises upon which such programming should be based.

Chapter VII outlines the present level of involvement by the federal government in education. Perhaps the major point emerging from the chapter is the fact of narrow constitutional limits upon the federal role in the education sphere. Both federal and provincial jurisdictions in fact share responsibility financially, while remaining locked in the rhetoric of constitutional division of powers.

The Committee, cognizant of this fact, can only point to the real need for public debate and coordinated examination. Such a thorough re-examination would require both provincial and federal involvement. In such a re-evaluation, concern should be given to the match between training and job requirements. Of paramount importance, however, should be the personal and social relevance of the learning process.

For many youth, the high level of adult hostility towards many innocent aspects of the popular youth culture, and the perceived irrationality of some laws has caused them to question the role of law and authority in Canadian society. These queries will, of course, be an ongoing process. The recommendations in this area reflect in spirit the obvious need to redefine certain laws, to bring them into harmony with the new dynamism of contemporary society. They may even be a first step towards a new look at the meaning of authority in Canadian society.

The section on social development elaborates the methods by which the requests submitted to the Committee on Youth might be realized. In this context, one of the prerequisites for success is a programme of regionalization, because centralization discourages participation at the broadest possible level - a necessity if true needs are to be identified and valid change is to occur.

This argument for shared responsibility only

reflects the need of many Canadians - not only the young - to engage in a programme of basic institutional redefinition. Technocratic evaluation and bureaucratic decision-making at the centre ensure failure in such a programme. Only new forms of authority, shared responsibility, regionalization and an awareness of community needs applied in an innovative fashion will permit its development and possible realization.

In order to achieve this, individual and collective needs and goals must be respected. Furthermore, guarantee of equality of access to the services and resources of government must be assured. Without these goals, only the more aggressive, better organized - often the richer - communities will win out.

The general programmes outlined in the recommendations share one major premise. All call for co-operation at a variety of levels - government with government, government with organization, organization with organization, all of which must fundamentally relate to individuals. Without this co-operation, these recommendations will be meaningless. At stake are not only the future perceptions of Canadian youth but also the question of the degree to which Canadian governments are willing to share their power so their citizens can govern their own lives. Because of the nature of our mandate, we must look to the federal government for the next step.

Employment

The statistical analysis in Chapter I and the extensive comment on employment throughout this Report point to the need for immediate action by the federal government. However, previous programmes in this area offer no precedent or guideline for the extent or quality of the requisite government activity in this area. Policies must be as unprecedented as the needs.

Not only is the rate of youth unemployment rising, it is consistently at a higher ratio among this age-group than all others. It is evident, first of all, that no substantive solution can occur until *one of Canadian economic policy's major goals becomes full employment within sectors, whether by age, sex or region.* Since youth unemployment reflects the larger economic situation, the acceptance of such a goal is only the first step towards a solution. It will not resolve the fact of disproportionate unemployment among the young, the poor, and the culturally deprived.

Most Canadians have difficulty accepting the notion of youth unemployment and life-long patterns of marginal or seasonal unemployment. This difficulty is a convenient shield from an uncomfortable fact. Certainly the fact that the very structure of our economy forces many Canadians to live a life of social and economic hardship is intolerable. Popular ignorance of structural unemployment should not obscure public responsibility. The normal functioning of our economic system places obstacles to employment in the way of many Canadians. But in particular, their birth into a certain socio-economic or cultural group or their age can mean they will not find a job. As noted above, this structural unemployment strikes particularly hard at the young.

Hundreds of thousands of young Canadians face the immediate prospect of unemployment. Many can also only look forward to a life of continuous unemployment or marginal jobs. Their exact fate in the next 10 years is difficult to predict. However, if there is no far-reaching and concerted effort to improve their employment chances, the sole certainty is that this already serious situation will worsen. The Committee would speculate that such a trend can only reinforce the growth and values of the counter-culture.

In the long term, the most seriously affected will be those with insufficient training or education to compete. Recourse to seasonal or marginal employment will grow useless under the impact of technological and occupational change. Future retraining will only have marginal utility. It will only serve to reduce the period of

unemployment by the very period of retraining itself. The present structural pattern of unemployment, the inability of the free market to accept those with insufficient training and the slow response of educational and governmental authorities to rapid occupational change will hinder effective placement of the unemployed job-seeker.

Although a programme of full employment might assist many, it will likely fail the structurally disadvantaged. They have difficulty competing on the free market. Thus, the first step towards a solution by government should be a decision to end its traditional reliance upon a regulated free market as an absorber of all job candidates. At the same time, government must question its dependence upon educational and retraining programmes which point their participants towards jobs requiring low-level skills in primary and secondary industry. In both these areas, automation and the expansion of multinational corporations has brought about sharply increased capital investment in equipment at the expense of labour-intensive industry.

As we have said, this reality of our economic system strikes particularly hard at the poorly trained young person. However, even the highly skilled graduate of a post-secondary institution runs into difficulties. Increasingly, he too faces unemployment, misemployment and under-employment. Given present trends, he will experience even greater difficulties in the future. Such young Canadians - the many thousands eminently qualified to work, desiring work, and anxious to contribute - cannot find a fulfilling job. "Over-educated" and "under-specialized", they cannot hope for a satisfactory career. If they turn to alternative forms of employment, they will often find they cannot earn enough money to survive at acceptable standards.

Their state of increasing frustration points to the need for a full-scale evaluation of educational activity in relation to Canadian economic demand and capability. For, unless there is a significant transformation of the Canadian economic system, there will continue to be an excessive supply of labour and, consequently, unemployment. Indeed, unemployment rates will likely increase along with the ratio of youth to adult unemployment.

Personal tragedy will occur at several levels. Increased youth unemployment will be a prelude to a lifetime of unemployment and marginal employment. Most young persons who fail to find a regular job will become locked into a more futile variation on the marginally unemployed's endless job-seeking. The post war baby boom has for the last few years been placing more and more young persons on the labour market. In the next few years, the number of jobs will fall even further behind the number of young persons seeking employment. In some cases, the young who fail to find jobs will be following their disadvantaged parents' pattern. However, the present and future influx into a tight job market is placing and will increasingly place many more young persons in the coils of the poverty and welfare cycles.

Summer employment, traditionally regarded as the means for students to get the money to carry on their education, is also less and less a feasible alternative. The importance of an agrarian-based seasonal fluctuation in the demand for labour has long since waned; the influx of students onto the job market puts instead an increasingly heavy strain upon the industrial economy. Given the growing number of jobs required, it is questionable whether make-work programmes of the ordinary variety will be effective in the long run.

This lack of jobs for those who rely on summer employment will diminish the desired equality of access to post-secondary institutions.

There is another aspect of summer employment which is equally serious to the young student. Often he finds himself doing meaningless work unrelated to his skills or interests - at a time when the young are seeking new definitions of work more conducive to individual growth and social development. There is a demonstrable need for an employment policy geared towards alternative overlapping concepts of work and leisure. The response to the Opportunities for Youth programme proved that the young want to work; it has also proved how creative and ingenious they can be if there is generous governmental support for alternative work situations.

The lack of summer jobs, the integral link between such jobs and the financial capacity to continue post-secondary education, and the desire of young persons to work - particularly in alternative forms of employment - all point to the need for a greater role by the federal government in this area. At the moment, immediate action is a necessity. In the future the federal government must make a concerted effort to create jobs and, more important, opportunities for alternative modes of employment. It is equally important to let an understanding of summer employment's integral relationship with the general economy shape such efforts. To ensure co-ordination in this area, federal policies should be administered by a single body - the Canadian Youth Employment Directorate (CYED). The present constitutional division of powers, giving the federal government responsibility for general economic policy and employment, makes it essential that such a body operate at the federal level. However, the

CYED will co-operate extensively with P2[1] - a mechanism which would ensure the sharing of responsibility with the public at the regional and local levels.

The present tragedy is more than personal; it is societal in scope. Canadian society cannot seem to generate a broad range of options for its young in the employment field. Neither can Canadian society mix educational and occupational experience in a blend beneficial to both spheres, the young and the larger community. Finally, at a time when the very meaning of work is open to question, the Canadian mosaic cannot respond with options for the young relevant to the real social and community needs across Canada.

The reasons for this failure are three-fold. First, the very structure of our economy militates against an extremely high percentage of youth even finding a job - let alone trying different ones to broaden their range of experience. Secondly, Canadian reluctance to undertake a comprehensive co-ordination of educational activity with economic demands and capability precludes most efforts to mix schooling with actual work experience. Thirdly, past failures to develop the concept of community and social development as a local concern has frustrated youth activities in this area.

In all these areas, federal action is necessary. Community and social development is treated elsewhere in this Report. But a concerted effort to remove structural unemployment - particularly as it affects the young, to encourage a more adequate matching of educational activity at all levels with the demand for labour, and to generate alternative modes of employment is an obvious priority for the federal government. The Canadian Youth Employment Directorate's major purpose will be to perform these tasks.

20 Employment

Recommendation 20

Therefore the Committee recommends that the federal government set up the Canadian Youth Employment Directorate (CYED) to take immediate action in the following areas:

a) in the area of structural youth unemployment, given the high ratio of youth to adult unemployment and the variations in success at finding a job associated with region, socio-economic status and ethnicity,

i) the CYED act as an interlocutor in all governmental social and economic development programmes to ensure that the specific employment problems of youth are taken into consideration;

ii) the Directorate undertake extensive research into the nature of youth unemployment with a view towards defining and evaluating the range of alternatives for public action;

iii) the Directorate establish, if necessary, direct programming to create viable alternatives to present training and retraining programmes; and/or ensure that existing departments engage in such activities themselves;

b) in the area of alternative youth employment, given the profound questioning by youth of the meaning of work and its social and community relevance and the inability of the business sector to generate sufficient jobs,

i) the Directorate establish policies and programmes to support, both financially and technically, the development of organizations providing alternative employment opportunities for the young - for example, Pollution Probe;

ii) the Directorate establish such a programme in close co-operation with P2 to ensure that support for such programming eventually becomes a responsibility of P2;

iii) the Directorate encourage in co-operation with existing federal agencies and departments - for example, Agriculture, Trade and Commerce - the development of support for alternative employment opportunities such as would occur in rural communes, co-operative farming projects and handicraft shops;

c) in the area of student summer employment, given many students' need for financial help in continuing their education and the fact of changed economic conditions which have reduced their chances of finding a job,

i) the CYED re-evaluate the present social emphasis on summer employment as the most respectable method of financing students' educations in the light of these changed economic conditions which have made it an impossible alternative;

ii) the CYED co-ordinate and develop research into and action in this area with provincial authorities - in particular, the Council of Ministers of Education;

iii) the CYED initiate and fund summer employment programmes where necessary;

1. See Social Development section in this chapter.

iv) the CYED co-ordinate such programmes of research development and funding with P2 at all levels;

d) in order to ensure the performance of the mandate outlined above,
i) the CYED be responsible to a Minister of state;
ii) the CYED have an advisory board composed of among others, officials from: Secretary of State, Manpower and Immigration, Regional Economic Expansion, Labour, Agriculture, National Health and Welfare, Trade and Commerce, and Finance;
iii) the CYED maintain, in all its activities, close liaison with P2.

Education

The present ferment in post-secondary education is a prelude to the definition of dramatically new roles for universities, community colleges and technical schools. The developing involvement of the federal government in these transformations must include an awareness of the individual's needs and rights; otherwise it will run counter to these changes and the larger re-evaluation at all levels of society, which are at the root of the educational reformation. The cost of federal insensitivity in this area could be enormous for all concerned.

The scope of these emerging educational priorities is already evident. It involves a fundamental redefinition of the individual and collective aims and objectives of post-secondary education in human, social and philosophical terms. At the same time, there will be a far more critical examination of the relationship between post-secondary education and the manpower needs of the economy. Ultimately, there will likely be far broader efforts to rationalize educational activity and manpower requirements in the widest possible sense. Given the conditions in educational and economic spheres, such reassessment and rationalization can only be beneficial.

However, there is one serious obstacle to extensive federal participation in resolving these questions - the Constitution. As these issues emerge with more and more force on a Canadian scale, we can speculate that the constitutional dilemma will grow increasingly acute. Even now, the huge expense of post-secondary education has generated a level of intervention by the federal government unforeseen by the drafters of the British North America Act. To dismiss this involvement as a matter of constitutionally palatable fiscal transfers is to mask reality with an increasingly unacceptable political euphemism. To predict co-ordination of federal and provincial efforts is a penetrating insight into the obvious. A new, more meaningful role for the federal government must be developed rationally or it will evolve willy-nilly.

Already, the federal government is engaged in fiscal transfers and loan schemes. Manpower also provides projections of labour force requirements as well as running its own educational establishment. In Chapter VII, the Committee provided an analysis of some of these programmes. Recommendations 1 to 8 (to the Departments of Finance, the Secretary of State, National Defence, National Health and Welfare, and Manpower and Immigration) suggest specific improvements in them. In our view, Recommendations 1 to 8 do not begin to cope with the broader issues in that they are mainly restricted to

improvements of existing programmes. In this chapter, we hope to point to methods of exploring the larger questions of post-secondary education.

Across Canada, students consistently put forth demands for higher quality and greater relevance in post-secondary education and for national standards. Some saw education as a form of "socially enforced incarceration" and schools as "institutionalized baby-sitters". They complained of poor teaching, particularly as a result of professional tenure in the universities, and demanded that course content be more useful in preparing them for jobs and more relevant to social and community needs. To combat authoritarian educational structures, poor teaching and useless or irrelevant curricula, they demanded a greater role in university government. Occasionally, they also advocated greater efforts to make the university answer community needs.

The demand for a more humane, socially relevant and decentralized system of post-secondary education might appear unrealistic as the request for technocratic rationalization (more planning to match training with jobs) gathers support. In their absolute form, these demands are irreconcilable. However, neither can be ignored. Any change which occurs must balance these competing interests, otherwise the system will become even more counter-productive.

Bureaucrats are the major proponents of the need to match educational "output" with job opportunities. At the extreme, such rationalization would require strict co-ordination of entrance quotas, course limits and numbers of graduates with national economic goals and anticipated market requirements. Ultimately, it would establish post-secondary institutions even more as the "great divider" of the highly skilled elite from the inadequately trained groups. Post-secondary qualifications would become a prerequisite for upward social mobility and all senior management positions. Because the purpose of modern education is not the creation of a new Family Compact, such an extreme approach is an unacceptable one.

There is also another objection to extreme rationalization. The upward mobility of post-secondary school graduates would depend on the quality of their post-secondary education. Unfortunately, regional educational inequities tend to mirror regional economic disparities. The quantity and quality of post-secondary schools vary with regions. As a result, the injustice of this extreme approach would exacerbate regional discrimination.

Additional problems emerge in other areas. If governments establish educational priorities in relation to the economy, they would have to demand that certain post-secondary educational institutions specialize in certain areas. Apart from the question of the university's traditional independence, there is the matter of how much such government intervention would contradict the academic orientation of the university and concepts of academic freedom.

To emphasize the moral, constitutional and administrative obstacles to a comprehensive rationalization of educational activity with economic needs is not to say there should be no such planning. To the contrary, the need for some such matching is serious and will become more intense in the future. Any attempt at such rationalization will have to take into account these objections. Even so, there are certain directions such planning should take.

At the local level, it is possible to integrate post-secondary education with occupational and social needs in the local community. As now occurs at the University of Waterloo, it should be possible to provide jobs with relevant interests on a systematic basis for students at all levels. There is also no reason why the federal government could not fund a programme of two-year voluntary service for high school graduates who want to work in the private sector for a while. P2[2] and the Canadian Youth Employment Directorate[3] could provide similar opportunities, particularly in the field of alternative employment. Some students might prefer to continue working; certainly their on-the-job experience would, in many cases, be more valuable than a formal degree. Others could experiment with different jobs, thereby clarifying their own goals as well as adding to their employment flexibility.

More important, these provisions would provide a test of educational relevance while the student is in school. The student's actual experiencing of his training's appropriateness to his preferred job is a convincing argument for the creation of participation structures to permit him some control over his educational future. However, there are more important consequences of such an approach. If there were institutional mechanisms to allow a continuing flow of students back and forth between post-secondary institutions and jobs in the local community, there would also be a concomitant flow of information back and forth between schools and employers in the local community. As a result, there would be pressure upon

2. See section on Social Development in this chapter.
3. See section on Employment in this chapter.

employers to take a more realistic view of students' qualifications - both practical and academic - and upon post-secondary institutions to re-evaluate their curricula in terms of the local community's economic and social needs. Ultimately, such a system might ensure more relevance within the educational system as well as a certain decentralization of the planning function in this area.

At the same time, there can be no doubt that planning at higher levels would be necessary. Regional disparity, the need for a more exact transfer of credits between institutions in different provinces, the increased mobility of Canadian students and the trend towards continuous learning all point to the need for a modicum of high-level planning. Co-ordination and co-operation among post-secondary schools themselves and between them and governments are imperatives which emerge more forcefully every day. The reconciliation of these priorities with that of decentralization will be a difficult, but not unsurmountable, task.

In this section, the Committee has mentioned only certain directions it feels post-secondary education should take in the years to come. These suggestions are consistent with many student demands as well as criticisms expressed by many educators. The Committee recognizes that post-secondary education is facing and will face increasingly fundamental challenges and therefore, the development of new directions is mandatory.

21 Education

Recommendation 21

In view of these comments, the Committee recommends:

a) that the federal government participate with the provinces in the convocation of a Task Force to study the aims and objectives of post-secondary education, make recommendations concerning the nature of responsibility in this area (whether private, provincial or federal), investigate the function of post-secondary institutions in relation to national needs, and make recommendations based on these needs, projected to the year 2000;

b) that the Secretary of State recommend to the Council of Ministers of Education and support the creation of and participate in such a Task Force;

c) that this Task Force have an independent status but report and be responsible to the Council of Ministers of Education;

d) that this Task Force's further mandate be to conduct a thorough re-evaluation of the aims, methods and structures of post-secondary education, particularly as they relate to:

i) transferability;

ii) equal access (disadvantages suffered by native peoples and those stemming from socio-economic disparities);

iii) participation structures;

iv) the matching of educational activity and the demand for jobs in industry and the area of social and community development;

v) the impact upon federal monetary and fiscal policies of schemes such as the contingency repayment plan;

vi) the effect of Manpower programmes upon education;

vii) the relevance of post-secondary education to broad community concerns, e.g., nationalism;

viii) the appropriate role for the federal government in education;

ix) the appropriate role for the federal government in financing and/or stimulating research at the university level; and

x) the possibility of ensuring a flow of students back and forth between the education sphere and the employment field, defined in its broadest sense.

Law and Justice

Most young persons see the operation of the Canadian legal system as, at the least, discriminatory; at most, repressive. They feel it relegates them to adolescent status (long after they have achieved biological maturity). They see abuses of the frequently articulated community concepts of civil liberty (especially in the phenomenally high level of adult hostility to individual prerogatives concerning hair and dress and to more serious, although still essentially mundane, matters such as hostels, drop-in centres, and street loitering). In particular, they point again and again to the punishments attendant upon discovered drug consumption (which discovery seems to fall particularly on those under 21 living away from home).

As such broadly based negativism can be explosive, some government action is necessary. However, no one should deceive themselves that legal changes will cure these societal defects. If anything, they will only remove the legal possibility for abuse. Such changes would benefit not only youth but the whole community. Finally, they should be viewed quite simply as a significant step towards the achievement of a well accepted goal - a Canadian society with justice for all.

Bill of
Rights

The most obvious first step is an entrenched Bill of Rights to guarantee traditional freedoms - assembly, free speech, and association - assumed essential to a democratic system. However, community consensus may now have expanded these to include education to the extent of one's capacity and desire, employment to the extent of one's ability, and social welfare support to the extent of one's need.

Recent indications are that a formula may have been reached whereby the federal and provincial governments could agree to enshrine certain of the fundamental liberties. Such a formula would resolve the legal dilemma of jurisdiction in this area.

Once enunciated, such a Bill would only gain meaning through judicial interpretation. We realize full well that the disadvantaged and, especially, the young will not always utilize its protections. Their reasons for such failure will range from a lack of knowledge, to social and economic intimidation, to financial inability to support a legal challenge to suspected violations of the Bill.

22 Bill of Rights

Recommendation 22

Thus it is recommended that the Federal Government, in consultation with the provinces, enact a constitutional guarantee of fundamental rights and liberties binding upon all sectors of Canadian society.

Age of
Majority

The fact of adult capacity at the age of 18 also deserves legal recognition. The Committee recommends that the federal government carefully review all laws within its jurisdiction that give a person less than adult status.[4]

Our society now imposes obligations upon its citizens at ages well below 21. Moreover, young persons demanded at the hearings throughout the country the right to take responsibility (with both its obligations and rights) at 18 years. Indeed, in some locations (Vancouver, Toronto, Montreal) some wondered whether even 18 accurately reflected the degree of biological maturity, intellectual development, educational achievement, material responsibility and physical autonomy achieved at an early age in the twentieth century. Indeed, the government could consider the examples of various countries (Italy, Yugoslavia, Chile) which extend adult capacity at lower ages based on measures of emancipation - e.g., responsibilities assumed through work, marriage and military status.

The right to vote at 18 years is, to Canadian youth, only a minimum recognition of their adult status.

4. As the Latey Report in Britain (Report on the Age of Majority) emphasized, the tendency of Western nations to use the age of 21 as a measure of adult legal status derives from no mystic sanction. Latey researchers found its source was the eleventh century estimate of 21 years being the age when physical ability permitted a youth to wear a full suit of armour while mounted for combat. Later, political leaders extended the application of this age category to the general population.

23 Age of Majority

Recommendation 23

Thus, the Committee sees it necessary to recommend that the Justice Department, in concert with the Department of the Solicitor General, establish the age of 18 years for men and women as a standardized age of majority for all legal matters under federal jurisdiction.

Citizenship and Human Rights

Recommendations 22 and 23 only clear away the underbrush that tends to hamper full citizen participation. Governments still must assume an activist stance to ensure that many Canadians, once accorded full legal protection and status, can actually exercise these rights. Justice, too, requires such a government posture.

For example, provincial and municipal governments are often reluctant to enforce national standards in their jurisdictions. They have their own priorities and perceptions of need. This tendency to view everything in local terms, though valuable in many instances, certainly deserves discouragement in the area of human issues.

There are many specific examples of such anomalies. To take one instance, provinces seem to need constant reminders that the Canada Assistance Plan is just that - a Canadian plan, even though, for reasons of constitutional constraint and bureaucratic convenience, provinces administer the Plan in large part. Their employees place strange interpretations upon its fundamental provisions. They do not seem to realize poverty knows no boundaries - that a disadvantaged resident of Ontario is no less disadvantaged if he moves temporarily or permanently to British Columbia.

Local authorities also need reminders that citizenship is a federal, not a provincial or municipal, fact. Just as a citizen should never have to carry a dog-tag to prove his humanity, so too he should never have to carry a "travel permit" or "work card" to justify his presence in any province or municipality. At the same time, municipal police need to be informed that the purpose of the Canadian Criminal Code (particularly sections concerning vagrancy) is to prevent crime, not to further the social and economic goals of their municipalities in discouraging youth travel.

Educational institutions must recognize the high levels of inter-provincial mobility among its enrolled students. Such post-secondary schools must help their students learn all their rights under the Canada Student Loans Plan, even those rights which exist to supplant the disadvantages of not being a resident of the province in which a student is attending post-secondary school.

These reminders can take many forms. The relevant federal departments should intervene more actively on behalf of recipients of their programmes. A more activist proponent could be a Human Rights programme in the Citizenship Branch of the Department of the Secretary of State.

Such a programme would also scrutinize the federal government's own internal operations to ensure that legislative goals and administrative practice coincide. It would advise the Department and, through it, the government of the impact such legislation and practice would have upon its employees and the subjects of the legislation. It should also recommend changes in the legislation in the light of its findings and their implications for human rights - in the broadest sense.

24 Citizenship and Human Rights

Recommendation 24

Therefore it is recommended:

a) that in the development of a general citizenship policy, youth within such a policy be accorded full and equal rights with other members of the citizenry;

b) that the Secretary of State receive a mandate to give priority to the development of a federal Human Rights Programme within the Citizenship Branch;

c) that the development of such a programme be in accordance with a general citizenship policy;

d) that the operation of such a programme be supported and co-ordinated with activities undertaken in this area by P2.[5]

5. See Social Development section of this chapter.

Surveillance of Conflict, Stress and Violence

We described at some length the emergence of the new sensibility and its occasionally violent implications. Mirrored in the statements of our provincial co-ordinators was also a nearly universal concern with the level of discontent and degree of hostility shared by adults and young persons. In some cases, such antipathies are a direct or indirect result of global issues. In others, they are a product of stress peculiar to specific areas of the country. Generally, both these factors overlap.

In the light of such reports and attributions of cause, we can state confidently that some conflict situations will arise continually throughout the country. They may or may not lead to violence. But they will definitely be the cause of anger and frustration in local communities.

Various sources of trouble are obvious. Youth unemployment will continue to be a major problem. Police will keep on scrutinizing closely and perhaps intervening in inner-city youth activities such as drop-in centres, drug crisis intervention centres. Police, merchants and adults generally will become increasingly concerned at the large numbers of young persons congregating in municipal parks and streets. School administrators will continue to infringe upon the civil rights of young persons. Administrative control over student records, curriculum and academic policy, student governments and student newspapers will become increasingly explosive issues. Drug use and radical political action will continue to detonate strong reactions among most adults. Conflict in these areas will not necessarily lead to violence, but it is certainly possible.

The reactions of the young in these situations will, of course, be varied. Some will decide the system is both repressive and invulnerable. They will turn to experimentation in personal life-styles, often involving drug use.

However, such quietism will not be the young's only response. Many will organize various kinds of innovative services or take part in social work to counter community neglect in these areas. Anti-pollution organizations and the struggle for the civil rights of native peoples will gain increased support from the young. In a sense, such activism can be viewed as counter-cultural in that many young persons see it as running against the major currents in Canadian society. Certainly, the media and the underground press will encourage a sense of youthful community across Canada and a greater awareness among the young of the level of youthful activity in different regions. However, at the same time, the emerging priority of community development will ensure an increasing involvement by the young in action within their own municipalities.

At first glance, it may seem the young are on a collision-course with the rest of society. However, the increasingly local orientation of young activists and lack of polarization relative to the United States preclude, for the most part, large-scale organized confrontations leading to violence. This is not to deny that there is certainly a potential for sporadic violence in many Canadian communities. Police harassment of young persons - rationalized through the strict interpretation of vagrancy and drug laws - stimulates sporadic outbreaks of violence.

Although the reaction of adults to youth activities also varies, it does seem primarily negative. This negativism emerges in their expectations about what the police and the legal system should prevent. Only in a very few places have sympathetic adults been able to bridge the gap in comunication between young and old. Also, they have only been successful in less contentious areas of social concern, such as the need for hostels and drop-in centres. At the same time, the trend is towards more effective bridging operations and greater sophistication among the young involved in various forms of service-delivery and community development. Although a higher level of conflict is inevitable, large-scale confrontation and violence are also possible.

However, the efforts of a small but increasing number of young persons to generate significant change without violence will not have the help of the police. Indeed, the police are only rarely able to provide the understanding necessary to defuse potentially violent situations. Criteria for their selection and the nature of their training preclude their assumption of sensitive diplomatic roles in such situations, let alone becoming spokesman for new and controversial social values.

However, in spite of their generally poor preparation for such functions, the police increasingly find themselves trying to cope with social and political conflicts, the very intensity of which can produce violence. When faced with demonstrations or peaceable assemblies, by selection and training they inevitably take a hard line on law and order. This response leads to an escalation of tension and strategies, sometimes ending in violence.

A further complicating factor is the commercial media's habit of sensationalizing youth activities. To those who write and edit the news, it seems that sex, drugs and violence are highly salable commodities. A side effect of this approach is a breakdown of media credi-

bility, particularly among the young who can no longer accept the commercial media's view of many street confrontations. To compare the coverage of a single event by the commercial media and the underground press is to conclude the two were viewing entirely different happenings.[6] Both reports can be the source of future animosities.

A feasible policy towards crisis-resolution must, of necessity, rest upon an understanding of the implications for social change, of conflict, crisis situations and the utilization of violence as a stimulus to change.

Canadians generally view conflict as something to be avoided like the proverbial plague. However, it also rests at the root of every positive change which occurs in any society - including Canada. Change, no matter how innocuous, brings with it a certain dislocation of established practices, and inevitably, conflict at the psychological, moral, philosophical, social, economic or political level. Thus, clumsy intervention into conflict situations, particularly by insensitive outsiders, can either quell a necessary stimulus to change or lead to a temporary suspension of hostilities on both sides until suppressed frustrations boil over later to create a crisis situation.

As pointed out above, there is a trend towards greater participation among the young at the community level in responsive organizations. As these develop, communities will experience increasing conflict over such issues as essential services, police harassment and community development. At the same time, communities, of necessity, will develop their own mechanisms for conflict resolution. Greater political sophistication will be required to reconcile local demands for change and conservation of the status quo. To encourage too many outside efforts at conflict-resolution is to prevent local communities from developing their own mechanisms. Such an outcome would be the worst imaginable, if the goal is to prevent local disagreements from spilling over into violent confrontations. National arbiters cannot spend all their time roaming the country to cool disputes.

It must be recognized that such mechanisms are not as yet fully developed in local communities. Sensationalization by the media, police insensitivity and adult hostility are still formidable stimuli to violence. In these circumstances, some form of public intervention seems necessary. To repeat, this intervention must not be viewed as a replacement for resolution, at the community level, of the dislocations associated with change.

In our opinion, such a defusing might best occur if the parties to local conflicts could call on a group of concerned citizens to act as dispassionate observers of these incidents of community stress. The demand for outside intervention should ideally come about if either party to the conflict feels it is beyond their power to find a peaceful solution acceptable to those concerned and requests help. In many other cases one party might initiate such a request.

The outside group, which would operate under the auspices of P2, would reply primarily on its own observers and co-operation with the community in drafting reports. While on the scene, it would interpret for the community at large the issues involved, the strategies of the conflicting parties and the probable outcome of such strategies. It also might try to bring the conflicting parties together in an atmosphere of, at least, minimal trust. Finally, if violent confrontations occurred, it would try to help the community avoid future crises by analyzing the causes of the confrontation, the manner in which it developed and the means by which it was handled.

The resulting reports issued in the name of a national body by disinterested people, uninvolved in local affairs, would likely get fair coverage in the local media, including the underground press. Its conclusions, whether pro-youth, pro-adult, or mixed, would restore a semblance of balance to the community. It would also avoid the necessity of continually referring youth to legal action to seek redress of petty grievances against the police and officialdom - an area where legal remedies are few and where, even if they exist, young people lack the resources to prosecute. The participants on both sides would have cause to exercise restraint upon their excesses. It would serve the purpose of bridging any communication gap in the local community and it would stimulate the formation of conflict resolution mechanisms at the local level. It would focus the attention of a much wider, even national, audience on local viewpoints and solutions of common youth problems. As a result, it would have important ancillary benefits throughout the country.

25 Surveillance of Conflict, Stress and Violence

Recommendation 25

The Committee, therefore recommends:

a) that the Canadian board of P2 establish and fund an agency, called Committee to Report Investigations of Stress in Society (CRISIS), to undertake

6. For a number of insights into community relations officers and news coverage by the underground press, see Willis, Janet, *Police and Pop Festivals,* a report submitted to the Committee on Youth, August 1970.

research and action in the area of conflict resolution. CRISIS's mandate should include the following duties:
i) to engage in direct action at the request of parties to a conflict or potential conflict. Such should include:
— mediation (hopefully prior to actual outbreaks of violence);
— the evaluation of the conflict in a public report;
ii) to provide funds for organizations and individuals engaged in applied research in the area of conflict resolution;
iii) to provide funds for organizations and individuals directly involved in conflict resolution;
iv) to provide funds or expertise to stimulate the formation of conflict resolution mechanisms at the local level, particularly in co-operation with P2 at all levels;
v) to provide funds to stimulate long-term research and trend analysis in the area of conflict resolution;

b) that CRISIS': structure should conform to the following provisions:
i) its Canadian governing body should include nine persons; five persons, one appointed by each of P2's regional boards and four persons appointed by P2's Canadian board; no individual appointment to extend beyond three years; staggered terms of office to be arranged;
ii) CRISIS should have a three-year mandate, after which its performance of the functions outlined above would be evaluated by P2's Canadian board;
iii) the CRISIS board should receive funds annually from P2's Canadian board and be accountable to the P2 board every year for the effectiveness with which it has carried out its mandate.

26 Surveillance of Conflict, Stress and Violence

Recommendation 26

As additional recommendations arising from the above comments we would also urge that a nation-wide programme be established whereby the Royal Canadian Mounted Police establish community relations programmes both at the federal level and in those provinces where the Royal Canadian Mounted Police serve as provincial police. Such a programme would place greater emphasis upon the upgrading and training of officers in human relations and contemporary concepts of community work with young people, particularly as these pertain to rehabilitation.

27 Surveillance of Conflict, Stress and Violence

Recommendation 27

That the community consultative services of the Solicitor General's Department be expanded, and its programme be directed, in concert with parole and probation services, to developing alternative patterns of employment and education for young offenders.

Drug Legislation

The consumption of drugs and the effect of legal sanctions against users are two of the most significant factors affecting attitudes of the young population in Canada today. The pattern of drug use varies across the country in proportion to the alienation of the young, the structure and cohesion of their peer groups and the availability of drugs.

By making innocuous (soft) drugs as illegal as dangerous (hard) drugs, the law forces the young to deal through illicit channels for both. To the adult community, the youth population becomes identified with illegal activity. At the same time, legislators appear increasingly incompetent to the young whose "personal" research has demonstrated the harmlessness of soft drugs.

Law enforcement agencies, rather than being second-line agents of society, have become first-line agents. Upon them rests the responsibility for enforcement of perceived norms of social order. More and more they must act as social workers among the young. Their attempt to enforce strictly a law unpalatable to the young and ameliorate the social causes of drug use makes their work exceedingly difficult, if not impossible.

The recent development of community relations officers in some metropolitan police forces is commendable. It may help the police overcome a moral and psychological dilemma they did not create. Certainly some of these officers acquire an awareness of the problems associated with "growing up absurd" in our cities. Sometimes they become bridges to their fellow officers and the adult community. However, they cannot be of the young community and paid informers upon it.

Adults working with youth who attempt to deal with the exasperating confusions of adolescence,

experience an even more intense frustration with the legal, moral, and emotional problems stemming from the drug laws. If the adult upholds their validity only in relation to hard drugs, the young ask logically how one can discriminate between the observance of good laws and bad. If the adult upholds them categorically, he loses his effectiveness. If truly involved in his work with youth, he must know both users and pushers. Can he, must he, reveal this knowledge to the authorities? If so, what happens to the trust he has so laboriously established in his work? The legal proscription of soft drugs is, then, in the final analysis, untenable. Within a few years our society will have to contend with the cynicism, frustration, and negativism engendered in young lawyers, teachers, social workers, administrators, clerics, media executives and so on. Although they know the shabby reality of these laws, they will be involved in their public and private enforcement.

At still another level, drug consumption is a symbol of youth's solidarity and separateness from the adult population. All young persons may not consume drugs; nonetheless, the phenomenon is so wide-spread, persuasive and fraught with other connotations that all youth share in its language, its symbols and its reality. As long as the possession of these drugs remains illegal and police enforce the laws, their tendency to create group identity will grow. Young people look to other young persons to provide contacts and establish a marketing network. Young non-consumers ignore such activities because consumption is socially acceptable and results in no socially harmful activities by the person who is "high". Ultimately to get "busted" on a drug charge is to earn the hero worship of one's peers.

Another peripheral effect is the attitude towards the drug-trafficker. Most young people are aware of the dangers of hard drugs, especially, speed and heroin. They are particularly critical of the apparent failure to curtail or punish the traffickers of hard drugs whom they assume are adult criminals. To the young, dealing soft drugs is an entirely different type of activity, conducted by non-aggressive youth through an informal network of friends. Of course it provides access to a desirable commodity. As a result, they protect these sources. The belief that dangerous activity goes untouched and their own transgressions attract harsh punishment reinforces their feeling of group estrangement and solidarity.

Adults and authority figures also reinforce these perceptions. Rather than treating the systemic sources of drug consumption, governments outlaw the symptom. Since the symptom (drugs) is illegal, repressive measures are necessary. For a variety of societal reasons, these seem to fall most heavily on the youthful user.

Drug laws, as they stand, are ineffective. By all accounts they have resulted neither in diminished availability nor decreased consumption. In fact, some commentators have speculated the vigorous prosecution of such laws makes drug consumption more attractive to many young persons.

Logically, it is difficult to understand how a society, unsuccessful at suppressing the use of drugs such as tobacco, alcohol, and chemicals by its members, can hope to erase the use of the soft drugs now so popular with, and available to, such a large part of its population.

Finally, the medical evidence on cannabis and its derivatives is far from conclusive. The most reliable studies show it is not physically addictive (see Chapter III, footnote 9). Questions about its use by persons with real or incipient psychological problems may be valid but the majority would appear able to use cannabis moderately without harmful effect.

28 Drug Legislation

Recommendation 28

In light of all these factors, the Committee makes the following recommendations:

a) that the cultivation, sale, possession, and use of cannabis be legalized;

b) that the age of eligibility for purchase and use of cannabis be 18 years for men and women;

c) that distribution and marketing of cannabis be government regulated and controlled;

d) that the Department of National Health and Welfare assume responsibility for a Drug Secretariat; such a Secretariat would be responsible for the following:
i) developing a factual and realistic drug education programme in concert with the provinces and municipalities;
ii) undertaking immediately programmes of research into the effects of continual use of all forms of drugs;
iii) undertaking research to determine the best treatment for drug abuse and providing funds for groups involved in drug treatment and complying with the criteria emerging from such research;
iv) supervising quality control of cannabis production, marketing and distribution;
v) making available its services and resources to P2 and the general public.

Social Development

In the fields of employment, education and law and justice, young citizens have asserted the need for Canadian society to accept dramatically new priorities. In many cases, these priorities have appeared as part of a more global phenomenon, the continuing need for broadly based action to create a more humane and egalitarian society.

In Chapter VII, the Committee made specific recommendations, reflecting this theme, to Secretary of State (Nos. 9, 10, 11) National Health and Welfare (Nos. 13, 14, 15), and the Canadian Transport Commission (No. 12). There is no need to repeat these here. Rather, we shall describe the values, principles, techniques and structures out of which will grow our chief recommendation under social development - P2.

First we must examine the social, economic and political conditions which prompted us to recommend such an agency.

In the last two decades, the "generation gap" has taken on enormous proportions in the minds of educators, parents, journalists, politicians and even the young citizens themselves. In a sense, this view of the young is a consequence of their relegation by society to the role of "future adults". In a sense, forms of economic organization, the content of political debate, the very quality of the information they have received, the awareness they have acquired and the experiences they have felt have penned both adults and youth into mutually exclusive reserves.

Even now, this historical dismissal of the young as "less than adult" has considerable power. Nevertheless society is changing; and, with this change, a new view of youth is emerging. Over the last three decades, it has gained increasing momentum. Ultimately, its significance is difficult to measure; but it is, in all likelihood, massive. The quality and intensity of problems have modified. New dimensions have emerged, which already point clearly to the direction Canadian society is pursuing. A new social, economic and political horizon is upon us.

Only in the light of this transformation can we define the present and future problems of the young. No longer do the young form a separate, curiously immune, segment of our society. Their problem is with society; society's, with them.

The focus of their concern is difficult to define. It is not easy to comprehend the specifics of their situation nor the gravity of their demands. Perhaps the best way to summarize the meaning of this new social dynamic is to point to their increasingly impatient rejection of a society premised on economic expansion or quantitative change. They oppose this model with another: that of a society bent on qualitative change, change that would bring the entire fabric of society more in tune with simple human aspirations.

It is becoming more and more evident that as long as the imperatives of quantitative change prevail, dissatisfaction, disillusionment and alienation, particularly among the young, will grow at a geometric rate.

Quantitative development, as it is occurring now, is failing more and more to answer Canadian society's needs and aspirations. The young experience this failure most keenly. No longer content with conspicuous consumption, they opt for a condition of simple, human happiness. If the standard of living is important, the quality of life is even more so. As quantitative development fails, qualitative development gathers support.

The idea of development now assumes a much wider meaning. Society must permit, indeed encourage, the full development of its members. But, to do so, it must accept the necessity of profound changes - economic and political as well as social - in the more or less immediate future.

If such broad, multi-dimensional development is to occur, careful planning is essential. Rational analysis of its implications at every level of society must be an integral part of such a planning process.

Any attempt to understand the significance of the needs and aspirations youth articulate brings certain developmental priorities to the fore. Concern with mere economic security takes second place to demands for a more equitable redistribution of resources. The functional organization of government is less important than the development of structures to allow popular control of political decisions. Quantitative change is less important than qualitative change. Beyond the legalisms of the just society are the fluid processes of democratic development.

These new priorities point to certain directions. Although issues of social security are still contentious, such proposals as Illich's concept of the Educard are gathering more and more support. In our opinion, these changes in emphasis indicate the speed with which social needs are growing and changing. A new social conscience seems to be emerging. It reaches beyond the concept of the welfare-oriented technocratic society towards the ideal of a democratically developing society.

Certainly, youth do not have to look far in order to find reasons for confronting the "system" or posing alternatives. Perhaps they see that Western man has yet to work out an effective way of providing social

welfare for the disadvantaged. Maybe they realize the Canadian population, with its unprecedentedly high level of education and number of facilities for re-education, is more capable of making faster, better and more humane decisions to answer their own needs than any bureaucrat (public or private). They may believe representative democracy has little to do with getting the people what they want and point to new modes of communication as a means to make democracy more direct. Or perhaps they see, along with many technocrats, that the effectiveness of public spending must be "tested in the market-place" by giving the "average man" the power of social resources to decide the time, manner and place he will use them to effect socially (governmentally) approved goals. Whatever the reason or combination of reasons, the young are attacking governmental methods of perceiving and responding to social problems.

Certainly the present "generation gap" is something more now than the traditional conflict between parents and their offspring. Indeed, the young have joined a minority of adults in articulating a protest against the very structure of Canadian society. It is now not a question of young persons opposing adults, but of human beings unable to relate to their environment. Recognition of this new perspective on generational conflict has been a major guideline in drawing up our recommendations.

These recommendations reflect the broad concerns of young persons. Through violence, activism, apathy and withdrawal, they demonstrate their reluctance to identify with, or opposition to, the societal model praised by many adults. The young have become both active witnesses to and passive victims of this society.

In a sense, the anxiety about, disappointment with, or rejection of existing structures by new generations has become so deeply embedded it has prompted an instinctive search for new alternatives. This search has given birth to new needs, behaviour patterns and experiments - even attempts to articulate the structures of a more desirable society. Actually, the first concrete steps in this direction are already realities. As their meaning becomes clearer, they lead us from a welfare society to a democratically developing society. Even consolidation of technocratic power will only accelerate this process. Expert direction in a society dominated by the imperatives of quantitative change, even if it provides certain necessary services, will only glut its members with too many goods and services they have not chosen themselves. Ultimately, they will reject such beneficence, preferring to define their own needs and determine their own priorities. Already, the young are doing so.

But what does all this have to do with policies relating to youth in the area of social development? First of all, if Canadian society is undergoing a fundamental transformation at all levels, the young, as members of this society, are inextricably involved in it. In reality, they are at the forefront of these changes. No public policy in this area can ignore these facts. Nor can such a policy ignore the growing refusal of the young to be treated as anything but full-fledged citizens vitally concerned and intimately involved in all aspects of social development, particularly at the community level. Thus, no such policy can succeed which isolates them in any way from the rest of society. To clarify this point, we shall examine past policies in this area within this country and elsewhere.

Until recently, the setting up of youth departments was a progressive method of dealing with "the youth problem". Generally, such departments reflect a technocratic approach to dealing with the young. Usually, they find their basis in a view of young persons as a special category which must be kept busy during the critical period of adolescence. Such a perspective draws inspiration from a view of reality that is both traditionalist and conservative.

Because of this technocratic approach, artificial definitions of functions became all-important. When its adherents perceive a problem, they set up a department to deal with it. Unfortunately, the number of problems often prompts an uncontrollable proliferation of departments, divisions and sections, all containing a vertical flow of communication from top to bottom. This approach to the problem is naive and simplistic: if the young are kicking up a fuss, then get together a department to do something. To base action on the noise of an identifiable group is to take a very superficial view of society.

Even now, many provincial governments in Canada seem inclined to take this approach. Outside Canada, many countries have tried to set up "youth departments" or their equivalents, and, ultimately, recognized their mistake - at least in part. "The relative ineffectiveness of these measures stems from a failure to understand the aspirations of the young, and from the inadequacy of lines of communication with various youth groups, i.e., from misconceptions; or from the rigidity of established structures on the one hand or too much hesitation and revision on the other, or finally, from lack of continuity."[7]

Youth policies in Great Britain were especially good examples of this historical pattern. One result of the Albemarle Report (published in 1960) was a

7. UNESCO, *The Courier*. April 1969, p. 13.

revitalization of the British Youth Service. Unfortunately, the report "concentrated upon the uniqueness of youth and made little attempt to see them in the context of the whole society."[8] Indeed, age distinctions were the only focus of Youths Service's creators. They ignored regional and socio-economic differences and, for that matter, the whole range of diverse interests within the youth population. For example, their surprise that the type of club appropriate to a rough section of Liverpool had little appeal in a London suburb would be laughable if its consequences were not so serious. It also did not occur to them that a bright, modern centre well equipped for games and athletics would meet the needs of only one group of young persons.[9]

These two attitudes typify the approach taken in implementing the recommendations of the Albemarle Report to expand the Youth Service. Adults ran the new programmes and assumed they knew what was best for the young. They did not even consult young persons about their plans or permit them to participate. Because they viewed youth as a separate, homogeneous group, virtually no research and planning went into questions about the types of programmes needed. As a result, the Youth Service only spent large sums of money to provide standardized leisure facilities of use to a minority of young persons. "The Albemarle Report estimated in 1960 that 33% of the 14-21 year olds used the Youth Service; today generous estimates put this figure at 25%."[10]

Not surprisingly, this result has brought about an outcry for revision of the Youth Service. Recently, its advisory and consultative ancillary, the Youth Service Development Council, issued a report challenging the basic premises of the existing Service. It reflects a near complete reversal of attitudes and is an effort to bring the Service into tune with youth demands and the activities they have developed on their own. "If the Youth Service is to become a relevant vehicle for young people, states the Report, it will have to accept the following as its operating principles: maximum self-programming and decision-making by the young; a dialogue between various groups within the community rather than a building and membership-oriented Service; a recognition of young people as an integral part of the community and as creative agents of community development."[11]

In its programming for recreational and cultural activity among the young, the Canadian government has run into similar problems. In Chapter VII, we point to similar reasons for the programmes' failures in these areas. Among these were the restricted range of options for the young, administrative rigidity, unwillingness to give the young a role in planning their programmes and an excessive structuring of all activities. Recommendations 16 to 19 (to the Departments of National Health and Welfare, Agriculture, and National Defence, and to the Canada Council) suggest ways in which the federal government could improve these programmes in the light of the above criticisms.

On the Canadian scene, the main federal programmes show many gaps. Neither the Company of Young Canadians nor the Student Summer Programme have structured their organizations in such a way as to allow community control or create bridges between the centre and the periphery adequate to deal with the problems we have defined.

Certainly the Company of Young Canadians established a worthwhile precedent when it built a degree of volunteer control into its structures. Unfortunately, it ran into difficulties when its volunteers clashed with the experts who had created and still control the organization from the centre. Chronic lack of money and financial instability also hampered its efforts. At the same time, the CYC never managed to generate real interest in its activities within the larger community, perhaps because it made no concerted effort to build community control into its activities. For all these reasons, unfortunate incidents with far-reaching consequences have marred its efforts.

The victors of the political struggle within the CYC bear some responsibility for its, at least, partial failure. Despite the rhetoric of their public documents and resolutions, they have not been effective in pursuing general issues relating to youth. At the same time, they failed to appreciate the many dimensions of meaningful social change at the community level.

Limited by a narrow political orientation in their approach to global issues, those who remained in charge did not view each project in terms of its short-term goal and administer it coherently and flexibly in order to realize that goal. Rather, they saw each solution as a global panacea - an excellent recipe for instant disillusionment.

In its time and place, there can be little doubt that the CYC was a partially successful endeavour. However, that time has passed. The Committee believes there is little point in using the CYC as departure point for renewed government action in this area.

The Student Summer Programme seems to have similar problems. It is not possible in June 1971 to make any thorough appraisal of its operations, admin-

8. Carter, Susan. *An Analysis of British Governmental Activities with Youth: A Ten-Year History*. A report submitted to the Committee on Youth, April 1970.
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.*
11. *Ibid.*

istration and programmes. The programme is a partial response to a situation of great urgency. Therefore, it is a temporary and incomplete measure, but deserves commendation for its timeliness, relevance and bold approach.

The purpose of the Programme is to ease the problem of student summer employment. The entry of students into post-secondary school gives them social and economic advantages beyond those of most young persons; students are, in fact, a privileged class. In this sense, the programme is simply a social injustice, a form of discrimination against their peers who face similar or higher rates of unemployment.

The Opportunities for Youth portion of the Programme will provide, through an analysis of project applications, a catalogue of staggeringly diverse unmet needs in Canada. Such a list will also reflect the desires of young persons to serve or work in many innovative capacities. These may range from new forms of paramedical aid (e.g., preventive dental care) to pollution control (e.g., lakefront clearing) to older established approaches such as that of Frontier College.

However, there are major obstacles to the expansion of such a scheme. Its very definition makes it a centralized programme co-ordinated by a group of experts and designed mainly for students. In other words, it will focus only upon a single objective - the creation of summer jobs. The programme can have little social impact because its life span has already been fixed. It has no formal connection, nor is it planning one, with existing regional programmes. In fact, it lacks horizontal or vertical lines of communication with federal and provincial departments, voluntary associations and other similar projects.

The approach is, therefore, not an acceptable model for an expanded annual programme. Almost inevitably, it will lead to the same bureaucratic empire-building, inflexible capital investment, and rigid programming endemic in national programmes mentioned previously. There are still too many fundamental weaknesses for its wider application to open doors to progress in solving the problems we have identified.

Any action to solve such problems must take into account the full complexity of Canada's social, economic and political life. It also must not ignore the subtle maze of obstacles to mass participation in the resolution of problems of popular concern. In other words, within the context of the present social revolution and burgeoning of alternatives, the government must facilitate societal choice. It must provide resources - of whatever quantity or quality is necessary - which will give persons the freedom to choose at every level their own course of action. The Committee cannot emphasize too strongly this first principle of any programming for youth in the area of social development. Neither the Company of Young Canadians nor the Student Summer Programme offers such range of choice.

The principles of the Committee's proposed recommendation rest in the explicit premise that the concepts of development cannot be reconciled with the traditional definition of the welfare state. In this instance, concepts of charity, of welfare professionalism, are inadequate, and damaging to the society as a whole.

Secondly, attempts, particularly in the Canadian society, i.e. the CYC, have witnessed the effort by a technocratically-oriented government to establish change-prone agencies without sufficient understanding, legitimacy and resources. This half-way measure might serve to open the door but does not have the guarantees for realization.

The prerequisites for the success of such a programme are vast. Its necessity, as we have said, springs from the profound transformations occuring at every level of Canadian society. New options and new alternatives are emerging continually in every area. However, old habits die hard and the dislocations which accompany rapid change often give birth to rigid positions, antithetical to the flexible posture required in such a period. In these circumstances, any effort by government to make freedom of choice a powerful societal reality must pass beyond the principles of technocratic control to those of social animation in the broadest sense. Such a general option is the only alternative to the more destructive consequences of broad and rapid change at all levels.

Adequate information is the obvious prerequisite to the making of any choice. This principle applies with even stronger force in the area of societal choice. However, such information cannot come only through improved communications channels between the government and the people. Ultimately, actual experience of varying options can be the only basis for a realistic decision. The removal of obstacles to social mobility between all areas through apprenticeship programmes, funding of experiments in alternative living or employment, active and stimulating assistance to the disadvantaged, etc., is one means to this end.

More important, however, is the stimulation of a more pervasive public desire to govern its own destiny. Social, economic and political structures must open up so that the public can exercise some direct control over decisions which profoundly affect their lives. A small step in that direction is government support of resources accessible to grass-roots control. These would include persons - among them, the young - at the local

level in vital decision-making processes. Through such processes, local communities could define and articulate their economic, social and political grievances; and, perhaps, through direct action, influence other large organizations to bring their actions more in tune with human needs. Regionalization of such resources and administrative direction is another technique for ensuring a degree of control by local citizenry with unique regional characteristics often ignored by authorities at the centre. A further method of encouraging local control would be the creation of open community assemblies. Such would meet regularly and have a decisive impact upon the regional programme's social development efforts. In other words, the basic impetus for definition of and action on problems in this area would be social and community needs and aspirations, as seen by persons at the local community level. The instrument to make this approach a reality we would see as our major recommendation in the area of social development - P2.

However, it would be naive to assume P2 is a panacea for the "youth problem", "the generation gap" or any of these popular cliches for the dislocations accompanying the on-going radical transformation of Canadian society. Serious and widespread conflict will inevitably occur. But, if P2 becomes a reality, it is our hope that it will help some of these conflicts towards a less destructive, more humane resolution. Its major impact should be as an example for other federal departments, provincial governments, and the huge private sector. Hopefully, it will also, by institutionalizing some of the rules of direct democracy, remove some of the obstacles contemporary society has created to the realization of individuals' hopes and aspirations. We would like to think it will also tend to create a more realistic view of government - not as a separate and autonomous authority over us all, but one collective body working with others to satisfy human needs. However, P2 is only one small step towards the perhaps utopian goal of a society developing democratically towards a collective realization of human potential.

To achieve this, P2 must be capable of:
—ensuring maximum participation in decision-making by the greatest possible number of citizens, especially those most directly affected by these decisions;
—permitting the creation of autonomous centres of decision, decentralized as much as possible;
—remaining free from entanglements with government bureaucracy; thus, it would have a considerable degree of administrative flexibility;
—presenting an intrinsic structure to allow horizontal and vertical co-ordination as simply, quickly and effectively as possible;
—providing a forum for decision-making sessions between technocrats and citizens in a context of mutual regard;
—offering the flexibility which would make it a two-way link between authorities and ordinary citizens so that each could benefit from the support, skill and achievements of the other;
—providing a "bank" of expertise, innovation and progressive action;
—acting as a channel for multi-faceted, multi-disciplinary action;
—funding indigenous social action programmes in priority to establishing direct programming;
—calling upon a full range of internal, financial, technical and human resources when introducing a programme tailored to meet recognized needs. Such a programme must, of necessity, take into account priorities and disparities between and within regions.

If P2 is to come up to expectations, it must have all the essential characteristics just listed.

Taking into account the problems we have defined and the principles of solution we deem appropriate, it is obvious this agency is not a government policy for youth. Rather, the application of the principles we are proposing would open the way to a process of long-term societal change involving citizens as well as technocrats and politicians. All would have to accept the rules of democratic dialogue in order to launch a joint experiment in the dynamics of a democratically developing society.

The logic behind the P2 principle obviously stems from an ideal. It assumes participation by every sector of society and every level of government. However just as it is inevitable that P2 will meet review and modification as it develops, so it is obvious that such development must begin at some specific point.

P2 can probably provide an answer to the needs and hopes of many sectors of the population. However, a format for rational progress is necessary, one which will take into account their most pressing needs and richest potential.

We, thus, recommend that in its initial stage, this programme for change should rely chiefly - though not exclusively - upon those at the forefront of qualitative change - young citizens between the ages of 15 and 25.

Canada's younger citizens are the most recalcitrant group with respect to social traditions and institutions and the most forceful seekers of change. They

will also have power and influence in 10 or 15 years time. The dynamics of social change do not reduce to a few simple equations, but we can develop certain basic principles all pointing to one conclusion. If the proposed project is not undertaken, the situation is likely to deteriorate to the breaking point. On the other hand, if we follow the direction proposed, a period of consolidation and expansion should follow. In either case, when a second stage arrives in about 10 years' time, the most decisive factor will be the disillusionment or faith of those between 25 and 35 years old.

As to the actual method of applying these principles, several formats come to mind.

However, the Committee recommends the format described in detail within the Annex as the most efficient, flexible and complete answer to the needs pinpointed in our Report. It's your turn . . .

29 Social Development

Recommendation 29

Further to the preceding analysis and in relation to the format described in the Annex, we recommend:

a) that the Company of Young Canadians be disbanded;

b) that a Canadian agency and regional agencies along the lines of P2 be set up;

c) that a complete and systematic appraisal of such agencies and programmes be conducted after a three-year operating period.

Annex

Community Assemblies

Purpose and Frequency

In each of the main population centres of a province, residents will be invited at regular intervals to attend public meetings. At these, they may express the various needs of the whole community and present the projects they want initiated to meet these needs.

All persons will have the right to take part in these meetings. They will also be informed as to the various resources at their disposal and will then proceed to make priority recommendations.

A special effort must be made to ensure that in addition to interested individuals, voluntary organizations, trade unions and other such representative bodies operating at the community level are present at these assemblies.

These public meetings, which will produce proposals for programmes, will occur every six months. Three months after each meeting, another assembly will convene where interested persons may evaluate the programmes initiated or completed on their recommendation and/or with their participation.

Location

The number of main population centres in a province may vary greatly as a result of the area's size and total population.

We therefore define a community as an area centred around a designated urban nucleus, and/or an area recognizable by its specific socio-economic and geographical features. Thus, for example, the 10 economic zones of Quebec or Ontario would correspond to a similar number of community assemblies in each of the two provinces. We may assume that for each province in Canada the number of communities will vary from a minimum of three to a maximum of 10.

Privileges

Each Community Assembly will make recommendations to a Regional Board of Directors. The Regional Board will provide liaison between all Community Assemblies of that region.

Once a year, at the end of the first Community Assembly, participants will appoint one of their number to sit for a year on the Regional Board of Directors.

The Regional Board of Directors and the Regional Agency

Composition

The Board is the decision-making body of a Regional Agency with the status of an autonomous organization. It is recommended that P2 operate in five regions, selected by applying to the whole of Canada similar criteria to those used in the definition of economic regions; each region will require creation of an autonomous Regional Agency:
—The Atlantic Provinces: Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia;
—Quebec;
—Ontario;
—The Prairies: Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta;
—British Columbia.

Each Regional Agency will be an autonomous body receiving government funds which it will redistribute in the form of direct funds, subsidies and/or various services to persons resident within its territory.

For this purpose, the Regional Agency has three complementary functions: decision-making, coordinating and the supplying of services.

Decision-Making

The Regional Agency will plan its programme through its Board of Directors, on the basis of recommendations submitted by Community Assemblies.

The Regional Boards of Directors will have the following members:
— one person from each Community Assembly, elected for one year;
— the Deputy Minister, or his designate, from the following federal government departments: National Health and Welfare; Manpower and Immigration; Regional Economic Expansion; Secretary of State; Justice;
— between one and five Deputy Ministers, or their designates, from each provincial government within the region. The total number shall be determined by a formula taking into account the number of provinces in the region and the size of each province's direct financial contribution to the Regional Agency. However, the number of provincial delegates shall not exceed that of the federal government;
— five other persons, nominated by all the above members, to be appointed for three-year terms by the re-

sponsible federal Minister, chosen for their proven ability and/or their capacity as official representatives of the representative bodies co-operating with the Regional Agency.

The Regional Secretary of the Regional Agency, appointed by the responsible federal government Minister, will also sit on the Regional Board of Directors. He will report to the Board and preside over its discussions.

The Regional Board of Directors will meet twice a year at six-month intervals. It will never commit more than 40% of its budget at any one sitting and always leave 10% of its financial resources as an emergency fund. The Regional Secretary will account for the use of this fund at the next meeting of the Board.

Co-ordination

The Regional Agency will provide horizontal co-ordination between Community Assemblies on one level and specific projects on another. It will also arrange vertical co-ordination between Community Assemblies and specific projects on the one hand, and private, public, municipal, provincial and federal programmes, resources and authorities on the other.

The Regional Agency will carry out this function on the request of participants in all aspects of its work. Accordingly, the P2 Agency will co-operate by providing the human, technical, material or financial assistance required by departments or specific projects.

With this provision in view, it is useful to note the goal of P2 is not to usurp, even partially, the responsibility for taking action from departments or groups which originate projects. On the contrary, P2 will, from the very outset, respect the integrity of government departments on the one hand, and such groups' activities on the other. Its only aim will be the provision of the support they may need to carry out their tasks more successfully. Such a function would be in keeping with P2's supportive and complementary rather than competitive role.

Supplying of Services

If a P2 Regional Agency is to carry out its functions efficiently, it must have all the internal resources to make it a complete and flexible instrument of support.

The Committee therefore recommends that a P2 Regional Agency include the following sections:
a) an Information Section, with research, documentation and public relations services;
b) a Communications Section, with liaison and counselling services;
c) a Travel Section, with hostel services to organize study trips and general travel;
d) an Operations Section, with services to provide training courses, and facilitate socio-economic and socio-cultural action;
e) an Accounting Section, with budget and equipment services.

Sections

a) Information Section

The research service conducts all the Regional Agency's research projects. It also co-operates with governments, research teams and individuals whose work relates to the Agency's operations. The make-up of this research team is interdisciplinary, though the majority of its members are specialists in the social sciences. Research concentrates mainly on the Agency's activities and must serve its objectives.

The documentation service has the same aims as the Research Service. More particularly, it should supply the research team with material. Everything possible must be done to ensure the documentation service can obtain all the information available on all topics related to the Agency's activities.

The public must have direct and easy access to this material. It should be designed for distribution in written form as well as by audio-visual methods.

The chief role of the public relations service is to make the general public more aware of the Regional Agency's services and policy.

This service will also serve groups of individuals and associations desirous of using its resources for the organization of information campaigns or information offices.

The service will also be responsible for all the Agency's public relations.

b) Communications Section

The Communications Section constitutes an incoming channel through which the public may tap the Agency's resources. This section includes a liaison service, made up mainly of public relations-oriented information officers, prepared to provide associations, groups or individuals with basic information on all aspects of the Agency's activities. They should also be able to pass on data about the resources available from government or other public programmes. All such information will be free of charge.

If necessary, the liaison service will also

communicate with the Agency's other services in order to obtain and transmit more detailed information.

The Committee has noted that at various levels of society submission to the wrong service or poor presentation resulted in the rejection of worthwhile projects. In order to help rectify this situation and for the service of the general public, a counselling service will be created specifically to offer those requesting it the technical service necessary to ensure them every possible chance of success in their petitions to both public or private agencies.

The counselling service should also be able to assist persons in planning, presenting and defending a project, and put them in touch with the most appropriate department or people to process their request.

c) Travel Section

In view of the increasing popularity of travel among citizens aged 15 to 25 and the educational value of such experiences, the Committee believes it is of major importance for the Regional Agency to have at its internal disposal resources and services which will enable it to support travel activity. It must seek at the same time to relate these programmes directly to community development in this area, in accordance with the rules that apply to the rest of the P2 programme.

This section will have to assume responsibility for developing a hostel programme with food and accommodation services. On the basis of a full preliminary study, the Agency will establish hostel and related services or will provide all possible assistance to community action aimed at the establishment of such facilities.

This section will include a study-trip service which will offer participants the opportunity of travel in their own region, other Canadian provinces or territories and abroad to compare and study work methods and research techniques of groups with similar or related interests. In such cases, priority will go to groups planning, carrying out or completing a specific experiment in their community, and for whom such experience will be of direct value in their development.

The study trip will take the form of a travelling seminar, lasting a minimum of two weeks in Canada or six abroad. The groups will include a maximum of 15 persons. Participants will never have to pay more than 40% of their travelling expenses, or $100, whichever is less.

The Agency, an association or a group may initiate general travel. Organization and administration will be similar to that for study trips. The contribution required from a participant may not exceed $25 or a maximum of 40% of travelling costs, whichever is less, if in fact a contribution is to be required of the participant.

The more general nature of this service suggests priority should be given to those persons who, for one reason or another, have little chance to travel and would benefit from a broadening of their experience and improved knowledge of their environment.

d) Operations Section

The training service offers such varied programmes as leadership, group dynamics, technical information and use of group techniques on the job.

These courses should be as flexible as possible in order to accommodate the numerous requirements and interests of persons taking them.

Each participant will have to make a financial contribution not exceeding 40% of the course's cost. Travelling expenses will be entirely the participant's responsibility.

Socio-Economic Action

This service's role is to provide human, professional, technical, material and financial resources required to support all projects of which the ends, in the opinion of the Regional Board of Directors, are primarily economic.

Socio-Cultural Action

This service performs a similar function, except that it concentrates on projects the ends of which are primarily cultural.

With regard to the two preceding services, one of the most frequent forms of assistance to community projects will be the remuneration of organizers (volunteers) or staff working on specific projects. We, therefore, strongly recommend that all organizers and staff paid by the Agency to work on such projects observe the following rules and conditions:

— candidates should have lived or be resident in the community where the project will operate;

— they should have been actively involved in the project from its planning stages;

— they should demonstrate a thorough knowledge of the environment in which the project is to take place, and technical competence commensurate with their future duties. If they cannot meet these requirements, they will have to undergo a period of instruction to complete their training;

—salaries will be at least equal to the income given up in order to take the job.

e) Accounting Section

The budget and equipment services which comprise this section will be responsible for ensuring the great degree of flexibility required by the operations of a Regional Agency. However, it must respect the highest standards of public accounting.

We recommend that as soon as possible, before the P2 Agency is established, a study be undertaken by accounting consultants to select a suitable accounting system.

Privileges

Each Regional Agency will be a completely autonomous body, and will, therefore, have full authority within its own territory.

The five Regional Agencies will participate in a nation-wide co-ordinating organization.

Community Liaison Officers

The Committee recommends that each Regional Agency set up a permanent liaison office in each Community, with sufficient personnel to ensure its efficient operation.

The Canadian Agency

Purpose

It is recommended that an equally autonomous Canadian Agency be established to co-ordinate affairs on a Canadian scale. Its main role will be to initiate programmes deemed country-wide in scope by the Board of Directors, and, when requested, to assist Regional Agencies with their programmes.

Furthermore, the Canadian Agency will be responsible for receiving the financial contribution of the federal government, both on its own behalf and on that of the Regional Agencies. Sharing of these funds between the Canadian and Regional Agencies shall be determined twice yearly by the Canadian Board. It shall submit annual financial reports on behalf of itself and the Regional Agencies to the federal government.

The Canadian Board of Directors will be composed of the following members:

—the Secretary General of the Canadian Agency, appointed by the responsible Minister. He will be chairman of the Board, to which he will also report;

—the five Regional Secretaries of the five Regional Agencies;

—the five Deputy Ministers, or their designates, of the following federal government departments: National Health and Welfare; Manpower and Immigration; Regional Economic Expansion; Justice; Secretary of State;

—10 members-at-large (two for each region) to be appointed for three-year terms by the responsible federal government Minister on the nomination of the five respective Regional Boards.

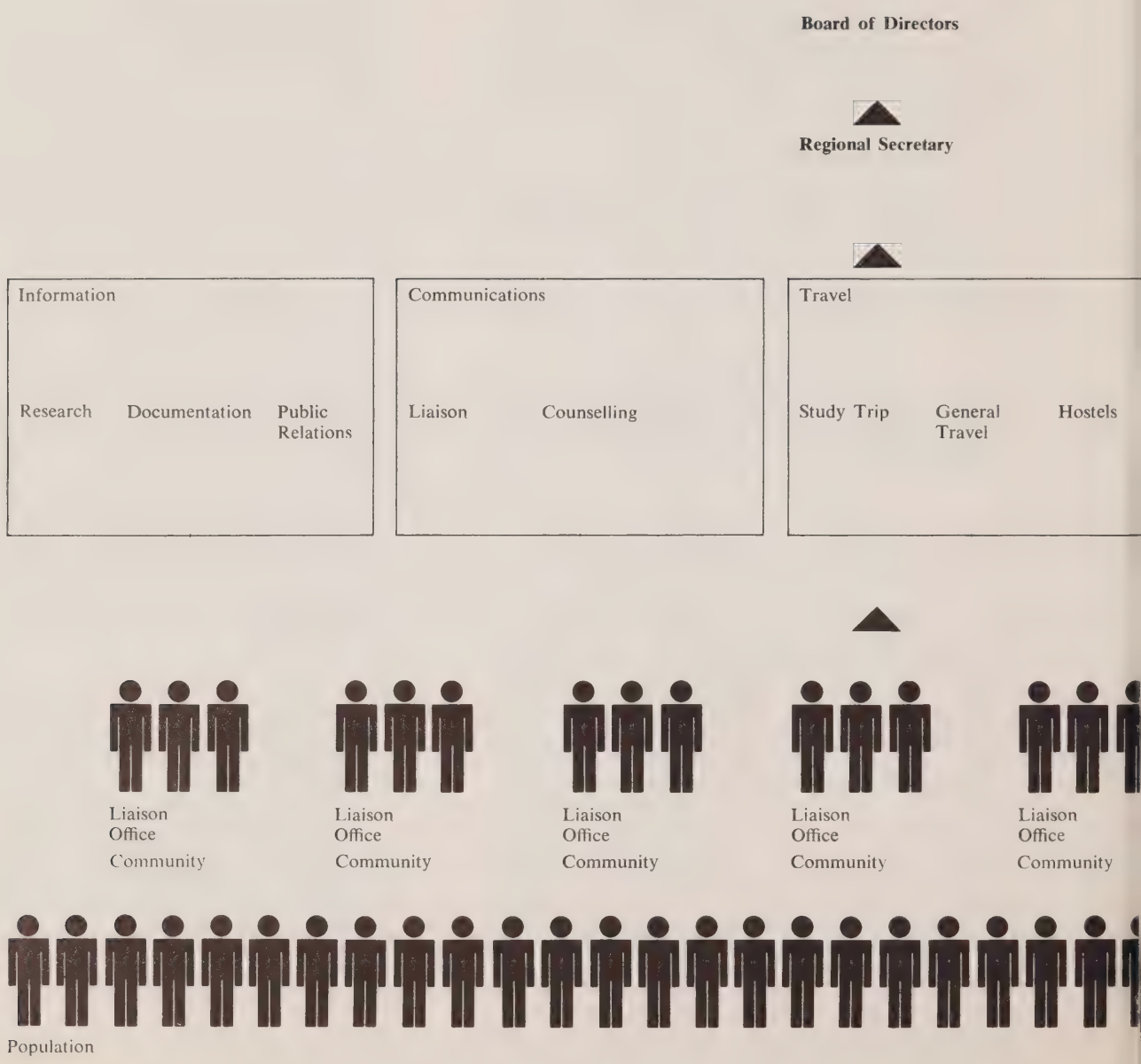
Services

The Committee recommends that in view of the function of the Canadian Agency, it should provide the same range of services as the Regional Agencies.

Principle of Operations

The Committee recommends that no one be employed by the Canadian or Regional Agencies of P2 for a period exceeding five years, and that no one remain in the same position within P2 for a period exceeding three years.

Integrated Structure of Services and Decision-making Levels in a Regional Agency

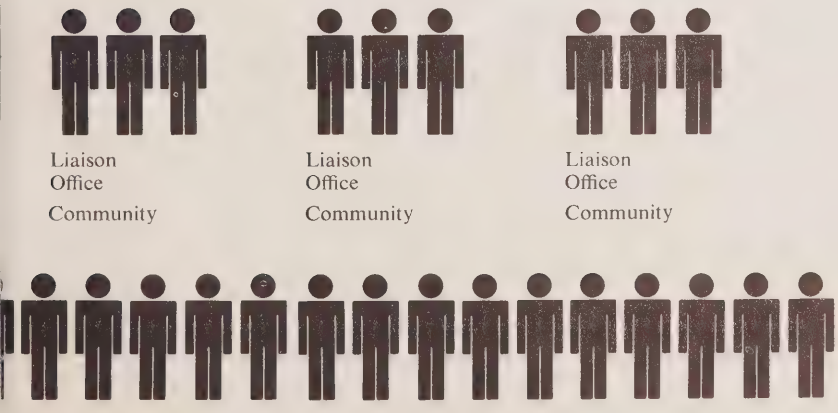


Operations

Training | Socio-economic Action | Socio-cultural Action

Accounting

Budget | Equipment

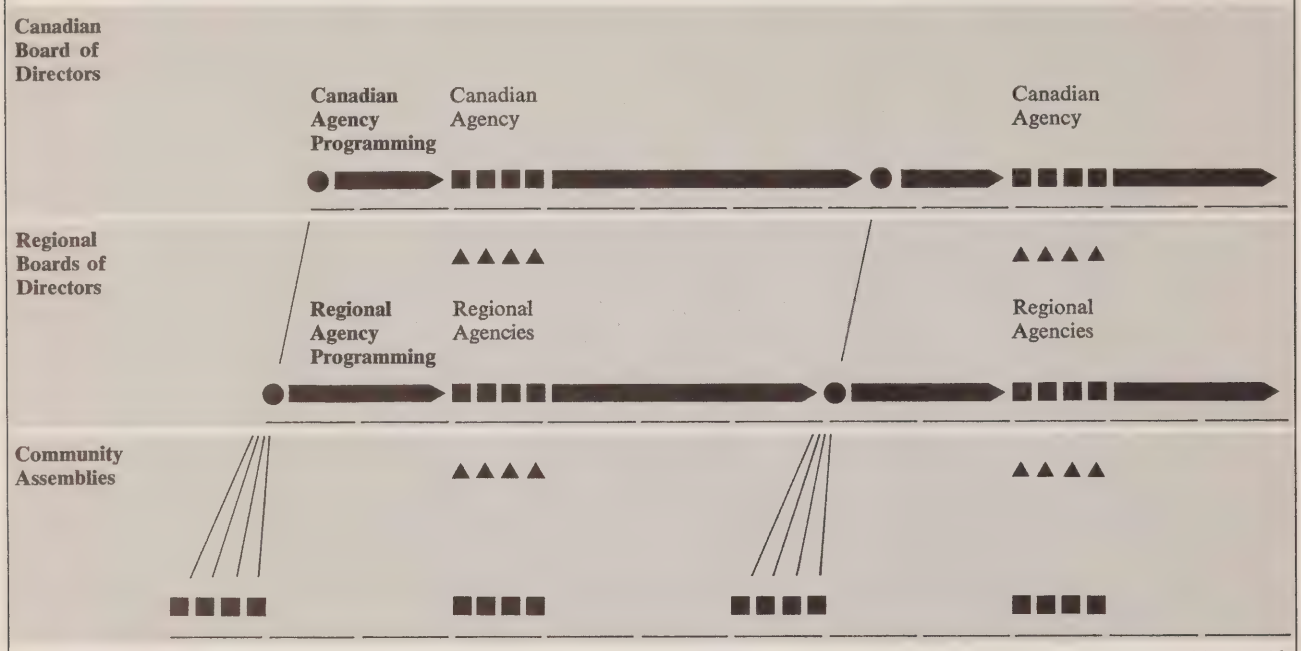


Liaison Office Community

Liaison Office Community

Liaison Office Community

Structural Outline of an Annual Decision-Making Cycle*



*of a Regional Board of Directors and Community Assemblies in a single region

The Committee would like to extend its thanks to all those people across the country who participated in the study and the preparation of the Report as staff researchers, outside researchers, provincial co-ordinators, writers and editors and secretarial staff.

Our special thanks to Mrs. Aimée Anglin and Miss Susan Carter who served as Executive Secretaries. And we would like to thank also the thousands of individuals, older as well as younger, who shared their situations and ideas with us.

The accompanying Bibliography is not intended as an exhaustive survey of the literature in the field of youth and social change, but is meant rather to indicate the more important works used in the preparation of the Report of the Committee on Youth.

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Ottawa Citizen, Ottawa
Presse (La), Montreal
Soleil (Le), Quebec
Sun (The), Vancouver
Toronto Star, Toronto
Toronto Telegram, Toronto
Winnipeg Free Press, Winnipeg

Section A
is a list of the formal briefs and submissions made to the Committee on Youth and described in Chapter IV.

Section B
is a list of the organizations, schools, and specific places where young people met with members of the Committee and with provincial co-ordinators. It does not include youth contacted informally on the streets, in bars, restaurants, pool halls, or jails across the country. Similarly, it does not include all those young people contacted by other young people who conducted surveys on behalf of the regional co-ordinators.

Section C
is a representative sample of the leaders of adult organizations and adult leaders of youth organizations who made written representations to the Committee or met with Committee members.

Section A

Briefs received from youth organizations:

Afro-Canadian Educational Fund
Air Cadet League of Canada
Alberta Rehabilitation
Armenian Youth Federation
Association des Camps du Québec
Association des Jeunes Scientifiques
Association des Officiers de Probation du Québec
Association des Scouts du Canada (secteur français)
Association of Student Councils

Baptist Young Peoples of Ontario and Quebec
Big Brothers of Canada
Black Heritage Youth Group
Boy Scouts of Canada
- Alberta and Mackenzie
- British Columbia and the Yukon
- Manitoba and Northwestern Ontario
- New Brunswick
- Ontario
- Newfoundland

Boys' Clubs of Canada
- Brantford
- Calgary
- East Scarborough
- Eastern Regional Director
- Edmonton
- Hamilton East
- Kamloops
- Kelowna
- Moncton
- Ottawa
- Saint John
- St. John's
- Vancouver
- Vernon

Canadian Association for Health, Physical Education and Recreation
Canadian Association for the Mentally Retarded
Canadian Council for International Co-operation
Canadian Council of Christians and Jews
Canadian Council on Children and Youth
Canadian Forestry Association
Canadian Friends Service Committee
Canadian-German Academic Exchange Association
Canadian Girls in Training
- national office
- Alberta
- Maritimes
- Ontario
- Quebec

Canadian Indian Centre - Toronto
Canadian Mental Health Association
Canadian National Institute for the Blind
Canadian Red Cross Youth - national office
Canadian Rehabilitation Council for the Disabled - Nova Scotia
Canadian Young Friends
Canadian Youth Hostel Association
- national office
- Maritime region

Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association
Canadian University Press
Catholic Youth Organization
Children's International Summer Villages
Clubs 4-H Inc.

Fédération de la Jeunesse - N.-D. des Neiges
Finnish-Canadian Amateur Sports Federation
Frontier College

Girl Guides of Canada
- Alberta
- British Columbia
- New Brunswick
- Newfoundland
- Nova Scotia
- Ontario
- Prince Edward Island

Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire
Indian and *Métis* Youth Council of Winnipeg
Inter-Agency Committee on Youth - Halifax

Jeunesse Étudiante Catholique
Jeunesse Ouvrière Chrétienne
Jeunesse Rurale Catholique
Jeunesses Littéraires du Québec
Junior Symphony Society
of Vancouver

Lutheran Church
– Eastern Canada Synod
– Ontario District
– Western Canada Synod

Madonna House
Manitoba Association
for World Development

National Youth Orchestra
Association
Navy League of Canada
Negro Community Centre

Ontario Forestry Association
Operation Beaver
Outlook

"Plast" Ukrainian
Youth Association of Canada
Polish-Canadian Youth Committee

Student Christian Movement

Territorial Experimental
Ski Programme
The Salvation Army
Trinidad and Tobago Association

Ukrainian Youth Association

Windsor Adult and Youth Congress

Young Christian Students
Young Christian Workers
Young Men's
Christian Association of Canada
– Calgary (Central Branch)
– Edmonton
– Greater Hamilton
– Greater Montreal
– Greater Vancouver
– Lethbridge
– Quebec
– Saint John
– Saskatoon
– Sault Ste. Marie
– St. Catharines
– Toronto
– Truro (Colchester)
– Winnipeg (Central Branch)
– Winnipeg (Elmwood-Kildonan Branch)
– Winnipeg (St. James Branch)
– Winnipeg (St. Vital Branch)
Young Men's - Young Women's
Christian Association
– Barrie
– Brantford
– Fredericton
– Moose Jaw
– New Westminster
– Victoria
– Windsor
Young Progressive Conservatives
Young Women's
Christian Association of Canada
– Calgary
– Edmonton
– Halifax
– Hamilton (Central Branch)
– Hamilton (Ottawa St. Branch)
– Kitchener-Waterloo
– Montreal
– Niagara Falls
– Northwest Territories
– Oshawa
– Quebec
– Regina
– Saint John
– St. John's
– St. Thomas
– Sudbury
– Toronto (Northeast Area)
– Toronto (Western Area)
– Vancouver
– Winnipeg
Youth of the Macedonian
Patriotic Organization
Youth Science Foundation

Section B

Youth and youth groups contacted:

Newfoundland

· Burin
Burin High School

· Clarenville
Canadian Girls in Training
Student Council leaders

· Corner Brook
High School
Rangers

· Creston North
United Church youth club

· Creston South
United Church youth club

· Deer Lake
Spillway youth club

· Eastport
Holy Cross Central High School

· Flower Cove
High School
Rangers

· Fortune
Fortune High School

· Gander
Allied Youth
Gander Active Youth

· Grand Bank
Grand Bank Drop-in Centre
Grand Bank High School

· Grand Falls
Grand Falls Girls
Roman Catholic School

· Happy Valley
Robert Leckie District High School

· Hawkers Bay
Frontier College workers

· Lewisport
Action Group
St. Paul's Teen Society
United Church Teen Study

· Marystown
Marystown Roman Catholic High School

· Norman's Cove
Hi-C

· St. John's
Anglican Youth group
Gonzaga High School
Labrador Ski Club
Memorial University of Newfoundland
Memorial University Students' Club
St. John's YWCA
United Youth group

· St. Lawrence
St. Lawrence High School

Prince Edward Island

· Charlottetown
Allied Youth
Basilica Recreation Centre
Charlottetown YWCA
P.E.I. University
Red Cross Youth
Young Christian Workers

· Kensington
Kensington Regional High School

· Kinkora
Kinkora Regional High School

· Miscouche
Miscouche Regional High School

· Prince County
O'Leary High School
Prince County Vocational School

· Souris
Division of Youth for the
Development of Eastern Kings
Souris Regional High School

· Summerside
Rangers
Summerside Boys' Club
Summerside YMCA
Teen Club
Young Christian Students
Young Christian Workers

Nova Scotia

· Amherst
Amherst High School

· Antigonish
Eskasoni Reserve
4-H Club
St. Francis Xavier - Student Council

· Bridgewater
Bridgewater High School
Lutheran Church

· Chetticamp
Chetticamp High School

· Dartmouth
Dartmouth High School
Nova Scotia Hospital

· Halifax
Dalhousie University
- Blind Rights Action Group
Dalhousie University
- New Life Styles Group
Dalhousie University
- Student Council
Halifax Drop-in Centre
Halifax High School
Halifax YMCA
Kings College
Newman Centre
Red Cross
Shebenacadie Reserve

· Kentville
Kentville High School

· Liverpool
Allied Youth
Liverpool High School

· New Glasgow
4-H Club
New Glasgow High School

· Sydney
Dial-A-Student
4-H Club
Sydney Drop-in Centre
Sydney High School
Young Christian Students
Young Christian Workers

· Tatamagouche
Tatamagouche Drop-in Centre

· Truro
4-H Club
Truro Drop-in Centre

New Brunswick

· Atholville
Eclipse

· Bathurst
Bathurst High
Bathurst Youth Association
City Auto Club
Collège de Bathurst
Le Blanc High
le CRAN, Journal étudiant
Leo Club

· Bertrand
Centre de Loisirs

· Campbellton
Acadisco
Fédération
des Organismes franco-catholiques

· Dalhousie
Chaleur Youth Centre

· Edmundston
Centre Immaculée-Conception
Commission Politique
Routiers

· Fredericton
Fredericton YMCA
Insight Drug Centre

· Memramcook
École Régionale

· Moncton
Alcôve
Carrefour des Loisirs
East End Boys' Club
École Beauséjour
École Saint-Henri
École Secondaire Vanier
Moncton Boys' Club
Moncton YMCA
Saint Pats' Family Centre
Scouts-Christ-Roi
Université de Moncton
Young Adult Association

· Paquetville
École Intermédiaire

· Petitcodiac
High School Drop-in Centre

· Petit Rocher
Club des Originos

· Richibouctou
École Régionale de Richibouctou
Jeunesse Active de Richibouctou

· Saint John
Boys' Club
Drop-in Centre
Saint John YMCA

· Saint Quentin
École Régionale

· Sussex
Coffee House

· Tracadie
École Régionale

Quebec

· Chibougamau
Bureau d'Aménagement Culturel
Jeunesse Ouvrière Chrétienne

· Chicoutimi
CEGEP

· Drummondville
Conseil Économique régional
du Centre est du Québec
Jeunesse Ouvrière Chrétienne

· Hauterive
École Secondaire de Hauterive

· Hull
Comité des citoyens
École Polyvalente
École Secondaire St. Jean-Baptiste
Jeunesse Ouvrière Chrétienne

· Montreal
Association des Jeunes Scientifiques
Boscoville
CEGEP du Vieux Montréal
CEGEP Édouard-Montpetit
Centre d'Animation et
de Culture ouvrière
Centre d'Animation du Développement
et de la Recherche en Éducation
Compagnie des Jeunes Canadiens
École Secondaire André Laurendeau
École Secondaire Lionel Groulx
École Secondaire Régionale
de Duvernay
Jeunesse Ouvrière Chrétienne
Jeunesse Rurale Catholique
Office Franco-Québécois
pour la Jeunesse
Université du Québec à Montréal
YMCA

· Normandin
Bureau d'Aménagement Culturel

· Quebec
Action Sociale Jeunesse
Association des Jeunes Ruraux
Compagnie des Jeunes Canadiens
Les Gaulois
Les Pacific Rebels
Université Laval

· Rimouski
CEGEP de Rimouski

· Rivière-du-Loup
Cité des Jeunes

· Rouyn
Bureau du Service Social
École des Métiers

· Sept-Isles
École Secondaire Gamache
École Technique La Vérendrye

· Sherbrooke
CEGEP de Sherbrooke
Jeunesse Ouvrière Chrétienne

· St. Jérôme
CEGEP Lionel Groulx

· Trois-Rivières
Centre Culturel
Jeunesse Ouvrière Chrétienne

· Val d'Or
Club Jeunesse
Défi à la Toxicomanie
École Secondaire Desmarais

Ontario

· Arnprior
Arnprior High School
St. Johns Church

· Bracebridge
Muskoka Lakes
and District High School
Muskoka Lakes College

· Casselman
Casselman High School

· Chapleau
United Church

· Cornwall
Cornwall YMCA

· Curve Lake
Curve Lake Indian Reserve

· Hamilton
Honey Creek Youth
Hamilton YMCA
McMaster University

· Hawkesbury
Conseil des Jeunes

· Kingston
Collins Bay Penitentiary
Dupont Workers
Queen's University
Royal Military College
Women's Liberation Movement

· Kitchener
Fat Angel Drop-in Centre

· London
Children's Aid Home
Fanshawe College
Indian Friendship Centre
London Addiction Research
Foundation
Luther House
Madame Vanier Home
Purgatory
Three M Company Workers
Young Christian Workers

· Niagara Falls
Koulage Drop-in Centre
Youth Inc.

· Oshawa
General Motors Corporation workers

· Peterborough
Crestwood High School
Lakefield College
Members
of the United Electrical workers
Quaker Oats workers
Trent University
YMCA Drop-in Centre

· Renabie
Renabie bunk house

· St. Catharines
Grantham Family YMCA
Mediklik at Hôtel Dieu Hospital
St. Catharines YM-YWCA

· Sault Ste. Marie
The Bridge Drop-in Centre

· Smiths Falls
Burrits Rapids Training Farm
Rideau Regional Hospital School
United Church

· Stratford
Stratford Festival Theatre
Sunshine Dirigible

· Sudbury
Mine Mill and Smelter workers
Mine Mill Hostel
Sudbury YMCA

· Thunder Bay
Operation Employment
Thunder Bay Drop-in Centre
Westgate High School

· Toronto
After Care Correctional Service
Big Brothers
Cross Current Community
Don Mills Collegiate Institute
Dufferin Heights Junior High School
East York YMCA
Etobicoke YMCA
George Brown College
Guildwood Village
HMCS York
Holy Trinity Drop-in Committee
Humber College of Applied Arts and Technology, Northern Campus
Macedonian Association for Canadian Youth
National Ballet School
Ontario Youtheatre
Opportunity House
Project Ossington
Red, White and Black, draft resisters' organization
Rochdale Governing Council
Rochdale Peace Conference
Saint Christopher House
Salvation Army House of Concord
Telegram After Four Representatives
Thistletown Youth YMCA
Thornlea Secondary School
Toronto Anti-Draft Programme
Toronto Free Clinic
Upper Canada College
Vanier Youth Collegiate Institute
Vincent Massey Collegiate Institute
West End YMCA
Youth Emergency Service
Youth Employment Service

· Wawa
Wawa High School

· Welland
Drop-in Centre

· Windsor
Blues Train Band
Chrysler Corporation workers
East End Action Centre
Hiram Walkers workers
Members of U.A.W. Local 444
West End Action Centre
Windsor Star workers

Manitoba

· Brandon
Brandon High School
Girl Guides
Indian and *Métis* Friendship Centre
Technical School
The Hole, drop-in centre
YMCA
YWCA

· Portage La Prairie
Women's Correctional Institution

· Seven Oaks
Seven Oaks Community Centre

· St. Boniface
St. Boniface Cultural Centre

· Stonewall
Stonewall High School
United Church

· The Pas
Committee of Deserters and Draft Dodgers
Indian and *Métis* Friendship Centre

· Winnipeg
Alcohol Education Services Centre Inc.
Boy Scouts
Committee of Deserters and Draft Dodgers
CRYPT (Committee Representing Youth Problems Today)
Gordon Bell High School
Hash, drop-in centre
Indian and *Métis* Cultural Centre
Indian and *Métis* Friendship Centre
Interfaith House
Inter-High Council
Junior Achievement of Winnipeg
Kelvin High School
Knowles School for Boys
Manitoba Association of Native Youth
North - YMCA
Operations Opportunity
People's Opportunity Service
Robertson House
Saint Luke's Church
St. Vital YMCA - drop-in centre
Ukrainian Youth Association
United Church
Villa Rosa
Windsor Park Collegiate
Young New Democrats
Youth Opportunities Unlimited

Saskatchewan

· Moose Jaw
Moose Jaw Technical Institute

· Qu'Appelle
Qu'Appelle High School

· Regina
Baldwin Technical School
Campion High School
Canadian Bible College
College of Arts and Sciences
College of Education
Committee for a Socialist Movement
House of Jesus
House of Zodiac commune
Miller High School
New Democratic Youth
Prairie Fire, underground newspaper
Red Nest, drop-in centre
Regina Artists
Regina Community Art Workshop
Regina High Schools
Regina Union of High School Students
Saskatchewan Farmers Union youth
Student Service Centre
University of Regina
University of Saskatchewan
University Students Union
Women's Liberation Movement

· Saskatoon
Métis Society of Saskatchewan
Saskatoon YMCA

· Swift Current
Swift Current Composite High School

· Uranium City
Indian and *Métis* youth

Alberta

· Calgary
Drop-Inn
Educational Youth Enterprises
Icarus (Calgary Cool-Aid)
World Food Conference, youth section

· Edmonton
Alexander Ross Society
Association des Jeunes Franco-Albertains
Canadian Native Friendship Centre
Indian-Eskimo Association
Inner Spirit, youth drop-in centre
Native Youth Society
Queen Elizabeth Composite High School
Smash, drop-in centre
Soft Machine, drop-in centre
Stop-Over
Trust, drug crisis centre

· Grand Prairie
Community College

· Lethbridge
Sir Winston Churchill High School
University of Lethbridge

· Standard
Standard High School
Young Teachers and Students

British Columbia

· Abbotsford
Abbotsford Secondary School
Mennonite Bible Institute
MSA Young Adult Group
MSA (Matsqui, Sumas & Abbotsford) Youth Council

· Burnaby
Burnaby South Secondary School

· Kelowna
Ba'hai Commune and Transient House
Dr. Knox Secondary School
Immaculata High School
Kelowna People Involved
Kelowna Secondary School

· Penticton
Youth for Christ

· Prince George
Baptist Young People
College of New Caledonia
House of the Open Door
Prince George Community Recreation Action Council
Prince George Native Youth Group
Prince George Secondary School
Prince George Young Leos Club
Society of Young Adults
The Golden Mean

· Rutland
Rutland Secondary School

· Vancouver
Alexandra Neighbourhood House Drop-in Centre
Association to Tackle Adverse Conditions
B.C. Native Youth Association
B.C. Union of Students
Brittania Secondary School
Capilano College
Carson Graham Secondary School
Committee to Aid American War Objectors
Company of Young Canadians
Crofton House School for Girls
Douglas Park Drop-in Centre
Eric Hamber Secondary School
Indian Centre Youth Group
Inner-City Service Project
In-sight, drug crisis centre
King George Secondary School
Kitsilano Secondary School
Last Chance Saloon, coffee house
Native Club Senate, Carson Graham High School
Native Women's Association
NOW, crisis, phone-in centre
Riley Park Drop-in Centre
Shrum Spiritual Community Services
Simon Fraser University
Sir Charles Tupper Secondary School
St. Augustine Separate School
The Action Committee for Unemployed Youth
The Georgia Straight, underground newspaper
UBC Alma Mater Society
UBC Association of Political Groups
UBC - Faculty of Education
UBC - Faculty of Forestry and Agriculture
UBC - Faculty of Nursing
Vancouver City College
Vancouver Cool-Aid
Vancouver School of Arts
Vancouver Technical School
West End Youth Movement
West Vancouver City College
Youth Employment Services
YWCA Underground Drop-in Centre

· Victoria
Saanich Drop-in Centre
Victoria Cool-Aid
Victoria Youth Council

Section c

Adult representatives contacted:

Newfoundland

Alcohol and Drug Addiction Foundation
Anglican Youth
Fisheries College
4-H Club
Gander Active Youth
Gander Collegiate
John Howard Society
Memorial University of Newfoundland
Province of Newfoundland
— Department of Education and Youth
— Department of Health and Welfare
— Department of Provincial Affairs
— Department of Social Development
— Warren Commission on Education and Youth
Secretary of State
— Citizenship Branch
St. John's Boys' Club
St. Paul's Roman Catholic School

Prince Edward Island

Allied Youth
Boy Scouts
4-H Programme
Fraternity of Grey Knights
Girl Guides
P.E.I. Development Information Office
Province of Prince Edward Island
— Department of Development
— Department of Education
— Department of Health
— Youth Co-ordination Section
Provincial Welfare Agency
Red Cross Youth

Nova Scotia

Dalhousie University
Digger House
Human Rights Directorate - Halifax
Inter-Agency Council - Halifax
National Film Board
Nova Scotia Hospital
Nova Scotia New Start
Province of Nova Scotia
— Department of Public Welfare
— Provincial Youth Agency
Social Directorate - Dartmouth

New Brunswick

Club 4-H - Saint Isidore
Department of Parks and Recreation - Campbellton
Drop-in Centre - Saint John
Drug Aid Centre - Fredericton
Indian Reserve Council - Big Cove
Police Department - Bathurst
Province du Nouveau-Brunswick
— Ministère de la Jeunesse
— Ministère de l'Éducation
Secretary of State
— Citizenship Branch
Study Commission on the Maritimes Union
Université de Moncton
University of New Brunswick

Quebec

Action Sociale Jeunesse
Association Coopérative d'Économie Familiale
Association des Jeunes Ruraux
Boscoville
Bureau d'Aménagement Culturel
Caisses Populaires Desjardins
Canadian International Development Agency
Centre Culturel Victoriaville
Centre d'Animation de Culture Ouvrière
Centre d'Animation du Développement et de la Recherche en Éducation
Centre des Dirigeants d'Entreprise
Commission Scolaire Régionale de Chambly
Confédération des Loisirs du Québec
Confédération des Syndicats Nationaux
Congrès du Travail du Canada
Conseil de Développement Social
Conseil d'Expansion Économique
Conseil du Patronat
Conseils Économiques Régionaux
Conseils Régionaux de Loisirs
Conseil Québecois du Cinéma
Confédération Québecoise des Entreprises de Loisirs
Family Service - Welfare Council
Federal Manpower Centre
Jeunesse Rurale Catholique
Montreal Chamber of Commerce
Office de Protection et de Traitement pour l'Alcoolisme et les autres Toxicomanies
Office Franco-Québécois pour la Jeunesse
Province of Quebec
— Department of Labour
Radio-Québec
Service Régional des Loisirs de Montréal
Service Social
Université du Québec
YMCA

Ontario

Addiction Research Foundation
Air Canada
Boy Scouts of Canada
Brock University
Canada Manpower Centre
Canadian Council on Children and Youth
Canadian Girls in Training
Children's Aid Society
CMHA Citizens Committee on Youth
COSTI
Department of National Health and Welfare
— Welfare Grants Division
Gerrard Street Kiwanis Boys' and Girls' Club
Jewish Family and Child Service
John Howard Society
Junior Chamber of Commerce
Juvenile and Family Court of Metropolitan Toronto
Metropolitan Toronto Police
Odyssey House Community School
Ontario Committee on University Affairs
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education
Ontario Mental Health Association
Ontario Student Liberals
Ontario Young Progressive Conservative Association
Project 69
Province of Ontario
— Department of Education
— Department of Labour
— Travel and Exchange
Rochdale Institute for Indian Studies
Saint Stephens Community Centre
Saturday, Sunday and Sometimes Committee

Secretary of State
– Citizenship Branch
Social Planning Council - Toronto
Summer of Service
United Church of Canada
YMCA of Canada
YWCA of Canada

Manitoba

Alcohol Education Service
B'nai Brith
Brandon *Sun*
Canadian Chamber of Commerce
Canadian Council
of Christians and Jews
Canadian Girls in Training
Child Guidance Clinic
Children's Aid Society
of Eastern Manitoba
Children's Aid Society
of Western Manitoba
Children's Home of Winnipeg
Children's Hospital of Winnipeg
Citizenship Council of Manitoba
City of Winnipeg
– Department of Parks and Recreation
– Health Department
– Police Department
Community Ecumenical Ministry
Community Welfare Planning Council
Family Court of Manitoba
Junior League of Winnipeg
Kinsmen's Club of Winnipeg
Kiwanis Club of Winnipeg
Knights of Columbus
Lions Club of Winnipeg
Manitoba Association for Children
with Learning Disabilities
Manitoba Association
for World Development
Manitoba Association of Native Youth
Manitoba Association
of Social Workers
Manitoba Camping Association
Manitoba Home, School
and Farent Teachers' Association
Manitoba Medical Association
Mary Mound School
National Council of Jewish Women
Province of Manitoba
– Department of Health
and Social Services
– Department of Manpower,
Youth and Education
– Department of Regional
Economic Expansion
– Planning and Priorities Committee
Rotary Club of Winnipeg
Winnipeg Council of Women
Winnipeg Social Planning Council

Saskatchewan

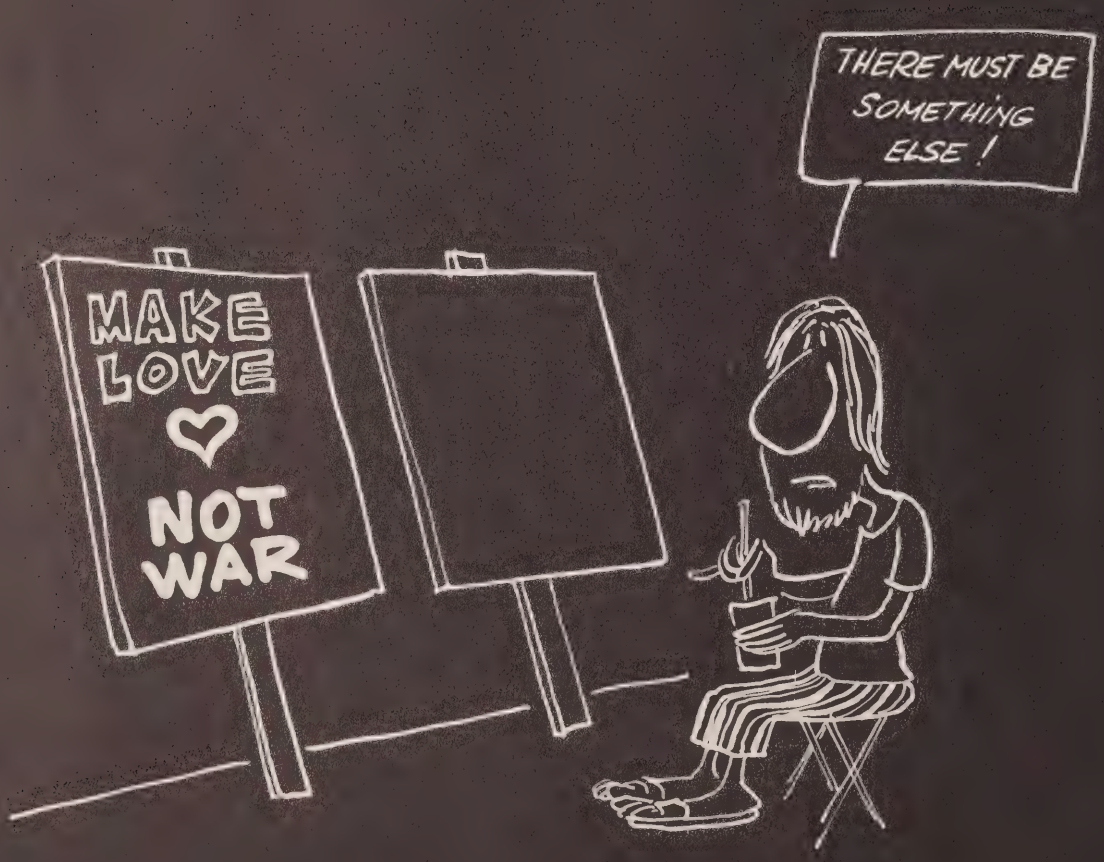
Province of Saskatchewan
– Department of Education
– Department of Health and Welfare
– Department of Indian and *Métis*
– Youth Agency
Regina City Council
Regina General Hospital
Saskatchewan Arts Board
Secretary of State
– Citizenship Branch

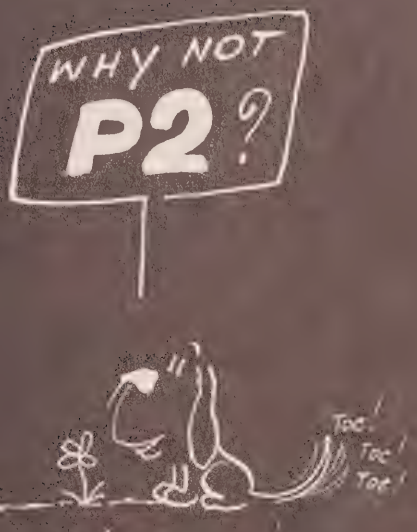
Alberta

Department of Indian Affairs
and Northern Development
Indian Association of Alberta
Native Brotherhood Society
Province of Alberta
– Department of Youth
Secretary of State
– Citizenship Branch
Social Planning Council - Edmonton
University of Alberta
Youth Section of Education
and Social Planning Council
Youth Service Corps

British Columbia

Children's Aid Society
City of Vancouver
– Department of Social Planning
and Community Development
Department of Manpower
and Immigration
John Howard Society
Prince Rupert High School
Provincial Alliance of Businessmen
Sardis Junior High School
Unitarian Immigration Aid
Vancouver Labour Council
Vancouver Police Department
– Youths Preventive Squad
Victoria YMCA
Welfare Planning Council
in Greater Vancouver Area
YWCA


THERE MUST BE SOMETHING ELSE !
MAKE LOVE
NOT WAR



GRERD

CARTOONIST WITH "LA PRESSE"